80B5

Another

25 May 1972

e7

ProQuest LLC.
789 East Eisenhower Parkway
P.O. Box 1346
Ann Arbor, MI 48106 – 1346

THE SOCIAL ORGANISATION

OF

INDIAN STUDENTS IN THE LONDON AREA

Thesis presented for the degree of
Ph.D. at the University of London

By

H. A. KANITKAR

School of Oriental and African Studies,
University of London.

1972

ABSTRACT

The aim of this thesis is to show that regional and linguistic affiliations are the most significant bases for both formal and informal relationships and social ties among Indian students in the U.K. It is held that the closest interactees of the friendship groups formed by them, i.e. those to whom they turn for financial help, personal advice, or the satisfaction of relaxed social interaction, hail from their own region of India and speak the same native tongue. The nature and functions of these close friendship circles are examined, and their place in the Indian student's social relationships in Britain. Insofar as it is relevant to a study of the students' situation, I have incorporated material relating to Indian professionals resident and working here, since the social interaction of the students with other Indians is almost wholly confined to those of the same class. Background data for both students and professionals is given in the early part of the thesis.

From the study of the influence of regional/linguistic ties on informal friendship circles, I examine how they affect formally organised relationships in the regionally and linguistically based associations. Membership, leadership and organisation of these associations are reviewed, as well as their purpose and function, and their influence in maintaining a student's ties with, and consciousness of, his own society. Although a hard core of association leaders is composed of fairly permanent residents in Britain, temporary student members can bring about changes if they get elected to Committee. Ordinary membership fluctuates through departures to and arrival from India; thereby, lively contacts with the home society are maintained, and the potency of the far-reaching sanction of gossip preserved. These associations maintain cultural and social ties with India, providing a ready made avenue of retreat from British society for one who is too shy, or disinclined, to cope with the adjustments required, and insulating such a student from making contact with the host society; a relevant part of a student's foreign education. More positively, regional associations provide an anchor for those who might become socially disoriented in an alien environment, and give opportunity for healthy competition for office and the responsibility of leadership.

Briefly, it is intended to show that the consciousness of regional differentiation is actively and effectively perpetuated by Indian students and professionals in Britain, in spite of rival and complementary demands within their social environment.

CONTENTS

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I must first acknowledge the constant patience, and generous assistance, both material and intellectual, which has been forthcoming without fail from the Department of Anthropology and Sociology, School of Oriental and African Studies, throughout the years during which this thesis was in preparation. A continual freshness of approach to my study maintained by members of that Department has stimulated me to continue through every difficulty. Unstinted thanks go to my supervisors who provided this encouragement: Professor F. G. Bailey, now of the University of Sussex; Dr. Hugh Gray, of the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London; Professor C. von Fürer - Haimendorf, Head of the Department of Anthropology and Sociology at the School of Oriental and African Studies, and, above all, Professor Adrian C. Mayer, of the same Department, who has seen this thesis through to its conclusion.

I am very grateful to Mrs. E. M. Tabert, Lodgings Officer of the University of London, for supplying reliable information on the difficulties faced by overseas students in the finding of suitable accommodation; to the leaders of Indian regional associations in London who spared me a part of their valuable time; to official bodies who volunteered much-needed information, and above all, to those nameless Indian students who spoke so freely about their difficulties and problems. Without their co-operation this thesis could not have been written.

Finally, I must express my thanks to my husband, who has always been ready to assist me in my search for information; and to Mrs. Kusum Joshi, who has laboured manfully for long hours with extreme accuracy to type the manuscript.

CHAPTER 1 : INTRODUCTION

In this study I have dealt with Indian male students in Britain; Indian professionals resident here are included only in so far as they affect the social relationships formed by the students in the regionally and linguistically based voluntary associations described in ch. 4, among the members of which such professionals form a permanent hard core. I have given brief quantitative and qualitative details of these professionals, with an indication of their dispersal pattern, to give an idea of the extent and nature of possible student contacts with a resident class to which they themselves belong.

Conservative estimates of student numbers have been attempted, together with a breakdown of these subject-wise, and a graph (See Appendix 1) shows variations in numbers arriving in U.K. over recent years.

I aim to show that regional/linguistic ties are the most significant and effective in both informally and formally originating social relationships among Indian students in Britain, and how they affect such relationships. I have analysed the nature and extent of friendship contacts in thirty detailed case studies, to show how relevant and effective are co-regionalist ties, and the types of situation in which these, in preference to others, are motivated. Formal co-regionalist links are studied in the voluntary regional/linguistic associations which exist for the professional and business classes in London, and both the social/cultural manifest functions, and the internal political, competitive, and prestige-increasing latent functions of these associations are examined. One all-India student association is studied, to show how even here regional ties are motivated at election times.

My use of the term "regional" should be explained. I refer here to the linguistic region, and membership of the formal associations is open to those knowing the language of a given area; for example, according to the Maharashtra Mandal constitution, ordinary membership is open to "any Marathi-knowing person, who is above the age of 18, and who pays the necessary subscription....". On the other hand, the Bengali Institute's membership is open to all "interested in its aims and objects", which appears broad enough; however, when we turn to the aims and objects, we find them to be:

"1) To promote Bengali language, literature, and fellow-feeling by social and cultural activities among peoples;

2) To cultivate friendly relations and understanding among various peoples;

3) To encourage the teaching of Bengali language among those interested; and

4) To maintain social and cultural contact with Bengal."

Here attachment to language and culture area mutually reinforce each other.

Since most Indian linguistic areas are large, it may appear that common language is not a sufficiently unifying force to encourage and maintain close face-to-face relationships in these formal associations; but the Indian situation should not be confused with that of co-regionalist ex-patriates in Britain. Comparatively, these are few, and concentrated in area, and, in the formal associations I deal with here, are still further restricted by occupation. The significance for friendship of common language and class is increased correspondingly. Within the formal association cliques may arise based on what R. H. Desai terms "village-kin ties" (1), and Dewitt John names "ilaqa groups" (2), (close interactive ties between those from a certain area), but this does not undermine the broader field of co-operation presented by regional/linguistic association membership, based on ease of communication and understanding (3).

<u>The Indian linguistic situation: its influence on regional association formation in U.K.</u>

According to the Census of India 1961, India boasts 1,549 mother tongues of Indian origin. Clearly there cannot be that many regional associations in U.K.; the Indian High Commission lists only six in London: (4)

---

1) R. H. Desai, 1963. pp. 19, 103.

2) Dewitt John, 1969. p.49.

3) A possible exception to this, the Gujarati Sabha, now defunct to all intents and purposes, will be discussed later.

4) The latest list includes <u>two</u> Punjabi associations in London.

The Bengali Institute
The Kashmiri Association of Europe
Kerala Association
London Tamil Sangham
Maharashtra Mandal
Punjabi Society

Of these I have examined four, representing Northern, Southern, Eastern and Western areas of the sub-continent, namely: Punjabi Society, Kerala Association, Bengali Institute and Maharashtra Mandal. The question arises as to why these six regions alone are represented by associations in U.K.?

Firstly, according to the 1961 Census, in each of these regions except Punjab the mother tongue vastly outnumbers other area languages in numerical representation:

Area	Mother Tongue	Second most widely spoken language
Jammu/Kashmir	Kashmiri (1,896,149)	Dogri (869,199)
Kerala	Malayalam (13,769,413)	Tamil (377,296)
Madras	Tamil (28,011,099)	Telugu (3,363,579)
Maharashtra	Marathi (30,233,034)	Urdu (2,725,689)
West Bengal	Bengali (29,408,246)	Hindi (1,894,039)

In Punjab, the most widely spoken language is Hindi (11,297,838), but this is closely followed by Punjabi (8,336,787). It must be remembered that the Census was taken before the establishment of Punjabi Suba, a Punjabi-speaking state, in 1966. It is clear that agitation for such a state was being carried on at the time of the 1961 Census, and therefore the intensity of feeling among native Punjabi speakers for a state established on linguistic grounds, as Maharashtra had been, was found among expatriates in U.K. as well as at home. In E. J. B. Rose's recent book, Colour and Citizenship, the great interest evoked among expatriate Sikhs by political

struggles for a Punjabi-speaking state is remarked upon, and a measure of the cultural identity ascribed to language is the demand by the recently formed Shiromani Khalsa Dal that Punjabi be taught even in British schools (1). Punjabi immigrants in U.K. have been found to be a very united band, having minimal contact with either other immigrant groups or the native British; and Dewitt John singles out language as a limiting factor in social intercourse. This is so even if Hindustani is spoken with other Indians, because of accent differences (2). Considering the battle for a linguistically-based state in India, there is no wonder that a linguistically-based association maintains itself in U.K. As we shall see later, it used to provide a meeting-place for students and professionally-qualified, just as the Indian Workers' Associations did for the Punjabi working class of U.K.

The major Hindi-speaking areas of Bihar, Madhya Pradesh and Uttar Pradesh do not have regional/linguistic associations in U.K. (Later it will be seen how Bihari students compensated for this to some extent by their activities in the all-India India Society at the Students' Union, where proceedings take place, significantly, in English). May this not be because Hindi, with its great mass of speakers, and its prestige as national language designate of India, does not evoke any effective upsurge of regional loyalty? Its speakers cover too vast an area, embracing too widely differing cultural milieu, to achieve a linguistic unity. In these three states, too, there is competition for Hindi from other well-represented languages; Urdu and Kumauni in U.P., Maithili, Urdu, Santali and Bengali in Bihar, Chhatisgarhi, Malvi, Marathi, Gondi and Urdu, among several other tongues, in Madhya Pradesh. In these three areas the illiteracy rate is high, and since I deal with expatriate students, and, to a limited extent, with professionals, such a

---

1) E. J. B. Rose, 1969. pp. 460-1.

2) Dewitt John, 1969. pp. 30-31.

factor obviously affects their numerical representation in U.K. (1)

State	Illiterate per 1,000 population	Literate per 1,000 population
Bihar	816	184
Madhya Pradesh	829	171
Uttar Pradesh	824	176

Considering the fact that the State of Andhra was established for linguistic reasons, namely, for Telugu speakers, one might expect a Telugu Association to have been formed. But here again the literacy level is low, little more than 200 of every 1,000 of the population being literate. Rajasthan, too, reflects this situation. In Mysore the literacy level is comparatively high: 254 per 1,000 persons - yet there is no Kannada-speakers' Association in U.K. Kannada, however, has strong competition even in Mysore from Telugu and Urdu, and thus loyalties may be divided, and split still further by religious differences.

Oriya-speakers have no association; in Orissa, again, the literacy level is not high, and, in addition to this, a number of other languages are reasonably well represented, (the case in all states with a substantial tribal population), thus splitting linguistic loyalties. Assam, too, has a large tribal population, as well as a substantial number of Bengali speakers who, with their great pride in their cultural and literary traditions, join the existing Bengali Association (which attracts even some East Pakistanis).

In view of what has been said about the tie-up between a low literacy level and non-existence of linguistic associations in U.K., it may appear strange that there is a Kashmiri Association, though the literacy level in Jammu and Kashmir is only 110 per 1,000 persons. Here, however, we must take into account the international political situation between India and Pakistan, so tense and incendiary as to arouse extreme feelings of

---

1) Census of India 1961. Vol. 1. Part II-C(i). p. 94.

loyalty among Kashmiris, impelling them into a collective expression of their sentiments which has little to do with linguistic loyalty as a unifying impetus.

At first glance Gujaratis in U.K. appear to have all necessary factors for the formation of an association: they are here in large numbers, literacy level in India is high (305 per 1,000), Gujarati is far and away the most widely spoken language in Gujarat (18,671,562 speakers, as opposed to Urdu, next in number, with 594,538), and militancy on language issues culminating in the formation of a linguistically-determined State, has been strong in the community in India. However, the numerical strength of Gujaratis in U.K. has proved, paradoxically, the downfall of the original Gujarati Sabha; a subsidiary divisive force, namely caste, has split the unified association into smaller groups, so that now Shahs, Patels, etc. have their own quite separate, independent associations. Ch. 4 examines these splintering factors more closely; Maharashtra Mandal appeared to be following this trend recently; interesting since the four factors outlined above favouring association-formation by the Gujarati community, hold good also for Maharashtrians.

Literacy rates are high in Kerala and Madras; it would appear that, though Kerala is a small state, and the number of Malayalis in U.K. is not very large, their high social status as professionals makes them predisposed to form and join associations (See ch.4). For Tamil-speakers there is the London Tamil Sangham; pride in, and consciousness of, their mother-tongues have been intensified in South Indians by efforts to make Hindi the national language of India, which they have sharply opposed, both violently in Madras and Kerala, and by emotive argument in the central government:

> "It probably means life and death for the South.... The South is the only part of the country probably which does not feel it is going to come into line with the other provinces soon, especially any part

of the country where Tamil is the language spoken." (1)

"For three whole months, every morning when
I got out of my house I heard nothing but
cries of 'Let Hindi die and let Tamil live.
Let Subbarayan die and Rajagopalachari die." (2)

It is noticeable that such speeches do not merely condemn Hindi; they urge the unifying existence of Tamil. While South Indian M.P.s spoke against Hindi in the Lok Sabha, a number of Tamil-speakers in Madras went so far as self-immolation in protest against it. (3) Demonstrations were particularly violent at student level (4).

Bengalis, whether from West Bengal or East Pakistan, have intense loyalty to their mother-tongue, its literary tradition, and the culture reflected in it. Enthusiasm for their language was expressed both in their condemnation of Hindi enthusiasts, whom they saw as ruining their cause by over-urging of it (5), and in their attempts to promote the claims of Bengali over those of Assamese in Assam (6).

The strength and sensitiveness of the regional language as a unifying factor was demonstrated not only in the sense of Hindi v. The Rest, but also in cases of regional language v. another regional language where the fate of Goa was concerned in 1965. Here about two-thirds are Marathi-speakers, one-third Kannada-speakers; therefore, when Maharashtra laid claim to the territory there was an immediate objection from Mysore, resulting in a decision from the central government to allow a plebiscite. (7) Even the States Reorganization Commission of India stated in its Report of 1955 (while nevertheless urging a strengthening of the unity of India as a whole),

---

1) Quoted in G. S. Ghurye, 1968. pp. 438-9.

2) Quoted in G. S. Ghurye, 1968. p. 439.

3) Ibid., p. 479.

4) Chronicle, Minerva, 1964-65. Vol. 3. p. 560 ff.

5) Quoted in G. S. Ghurye, 1968. pp. 440-1.

6) Ibid., p. 470 ff.

7) Hugh Tinker, 1967. p. 152.

> "The language and culture of an area have an undoubted importance as they represent a pattern of living which is common in that area." (1)

Since we are dealing here with expatriate students, literacy levels in the several States assume importance because where literacy is high in mother tongues it is likely that more will know English of a sufficiency to enable them to profit from a course of study in English-speaking areas overseas. We might assume, therefore, larger numbers of students from such regions in U.K. than from those with relatively low literacy levels.

Thus, provided such predisposing factors as good literacy level in the home State, a numerical sufficiency, and one wholly predominant language to an area, are to be found, linguistically distinguishable associations are likely to arise among Indian students and professionals abroad in which, mutually intelligible in their mother-tongue, the primary binding force, they may keep alive their own regional varients of Indian culture.

Method of the Study

It proved impossible to take a statistical sample of students for this study; there is no way of ascertaining the total size of the universe, or, indeed, of making a satisfactory breakdown area-wise of the numbers involved. It was decided therefore to work outwards from a number of known students from various areas of India, studying in a variety of fields and in different colleges, and unconnected personally with each other, in hopes that by following their networks to further contacts these networks themselves might be traced in their intricacies and cross-linkages. That the network hypothesis was not completely satisfactory as a working tool when dealing with these students is shown in Ch.4. This technique resembles what Firth, Hubert and Forge have termed the "snowball" method (2). For varied reasons they found it unsatisfactory to work outwards from personal contacts; but the Indian students dealt with in this study were not all

---

1) Quoted in G. S. Ghurye, 1968. p. 489.

2) Raymond Firth, Jane Hubert and Anthony Forge, 1969. p. 41.

known to the investigator as personal friends - even the original starting points were not, but were largely selected at random in University halls/ unions, student clubs, coffee bars, refectories, etc. It was hoped, therefore, that the leads obtained from such starting points would be sufficiently varied.

Lambert and Bressler did not, or could not, work with a statistical sample; of 1,216 Indian students in U.S.A. they selected 16; of 248 Pakistanis 2, and of 41 Singhalese, 1. (1) In spite of the title of Lambert and Bressler's book, Indian Students on an American Campus, the students were really from South Asia as a whole. G. V. Coelho deals with 60 Indian students, mainly from the greater Boston area, but makes no claim that these are representative of the total number of Indian students in U.S.A. at the time. (2)

The present study deals only with Indian students, and includes Muslims, Sikhs, Christians and Hindus. The study is essentially qualitative rather than quantitative; in view of the obvious impossibility of interviewing any kind of sample which could be said to be definitely representative, to concentrate intensively and in depth on a few cases was considered to be the most fruitful method. It is hoped that to enter into and participate in routine life and social contacts of a limited number of students will not only describe their interaction but humanise it and bring it alive:

> "Vous ne tenez compte que des ensembles! Cent mille hommes, voila qui devient interessant. C'est une statistique et les statistiques sont muettes! On en fait des courbes et des graphiques, hein! On travaille sur les generations, c'est plus facile! Et le travail peut se faire dans le silence et dans l'odeur tranquille de l'enore....je continuerai a deranger votre bel ordre par le hasard des cris." (3)

---

(1) Richard D. Lambert and Marvin Bressler, 1956. p.5.

(2) G. V. Coelho, 1959. pp.15-16.

(3) Albert Camus, 1948. p.174.

Probably the most successful attempt at random sampling in the Indian student body was done by A. K. Singh, but even his method, as he readily admits, had its limitations. Though able to take the complete Indian student population of Oxbridge and Manchester/Leeds, he was forced to confine himself to 400 students at London University, 100 each from the four main subjects of study - arts, medicine, science, engineering/technology (1). However, the numbers shared by these four branches of study are disproportionate, and therefore 100 from each cannot be said to be accurately representative. Again, when a total of 710 students is studied by one research worker, he is forced to rely heavily on questionnaires; it is difficult to cross-check these for accuracy, as can be done by "back-tracking" in a personal interview, or by informal supplementary interviews with an informant or his friends. Though factual information such as that collected by Dr. Singh is extremely valuable, especially in a field so sparsely covered (2), there remains a need for depth interviewing which, when the time of only one person with limited funds is available, is obviously limited correspondingly in extent. It is submitted, therefore, that though a more extensive study along such lines is to be desired, the present material, nevertheless, is of a kind that has not yet been attempted among Indian students in U.K.

A word of explanation may be necessary as to the use of the term "professional" in this study. Although in common and sometimes haphazard use, it is a difficult word to define exactly for sociological purposes. Lewis and Maude (3) have isolated five criteria for defining a profession:-

a) Registration or State Certification;

b) Practitioner-Client Relationship;

c) Ethical code;

d) Ban on advertising of services;

e) Independence, but service of a fiduciary nature.

---

1) A. K. Singh, 1963. pp. 10-11.

2) Ibid. pp. 7-8.

3) R. Lewis and A. E. U. Maude. 1952. p. 72.

They do not demand that all five of these points should refer to a given form of employment for it to be termed a profession, but at least one of them should be applicable.

Hall and Jones (1) offer a definition of a profession which is more generalised: they would designate as professions "all occupations calling for highly specialised experience and frequently the possession of a degree or comparable professional qualification which implies a long period of education and training." Through not being as definitive as that offered by Lewis and Maude, this classification, though useful in general terms, tends to allow certain occupations to slip through the net as professions, on grounds of "highly specialised experience" and "a long period of ..... training;" for example, those of motor mechanic, compositor, or electrician.

For the purposes of this study, I decided to class as professions:-

a) those occupations for which University training is required, for example, some grades of teaching, medicine, science; and

b) those which demand an examination set by a recognised professional body, for example, bar-at-law, chartered and cost accountancy, and, again, teaching.

As "students" I included those training for such professions in this country, or working for additional qualifications in any of them. I have omitted those studying for G.C.E. or R.S.A. examinations, since it is not certain that such students will take their places in the professions as I have described them. I have also ignored nursing; as I deal with male students only, and, in addition, there appear to be so few Indians from India, as opposed to those from Mauritius, East Africa, or West Indies, studying this in U.K., it appeared that the labour of tracing possible informants in this field would be vastly greater than results obtained. Doctors, radiographers, etc., are included, of course.

I should perhaps explain the exclusion from this study of those Indians in Government service in Britain. These fall into a different category since they are posted here and do not come of their own volition, as the students and professionals do, to study or work on their own account. Since

---

(1) J. Hall, and D. Caradog Jones. 1950. p.33 ff.

the element of free choice of movement is lacking to the diplomatic corps, they have been omitted from this present study.

Studies of coloured immigrant groups

In view of the fact that in recent years there has been a considerable output of writing on coloured immigrant groups in the United Kingdom, the necessity for the execution of this study may be called into question on this ground. In these books, however, there is very little reference to Indians, although the problems of West Indians are fully dealt with. It is irrational and unscientific to class negro and East Indian immigrants together under the all-too-handy blanket term "coloured immigrants", and for three reasons:

a) the immigrants themselves do not think of themselves as one indistinguishable mass;

b) the host society does not look at them as an indeterminate confusion of dark skins;

c) and, (a factor contributing to (b), I would suggest), Indian immigrants are structurally, as well as culturally, different from the West Indians. The latter, as can be seen from the number of women and children who follow the menfolk after slight delay (1), come with the intention of settling a family. West Indian women show the highest proportion of female wage-earners of any immigrant group (2). Traditions of religion and language are similar to the British; family ideals and aims, while obviously differing in degree to some extent, are nevertheless Western in kind.

Indian working-class immigrants, on the other hand, come from parts of Gujarat and Punjab with traditions of emigration for menfolk; and their system was to send younger male members of the family (3), (preferably married before they went, so as to ensure

---

1) R. Glass, 1960, p. 17, quotes just over 40% as being the proportion of West Indian female migrants for U.K. as a whole, though in London this figure sinks to 27%. Donald Wood, 1960, p. 16, puts forwards an estimated lower figure of 20-30% overall. Ceri Peach, 1968, p. 45, agrees with Mrs. Glass' figure, 40% for the period 1955-64, including West Indian women and children.

2) R. B. Davison, 1966. p. 68.

3) R. H. Desai, 1962, p. 54, and 1963, p. 7. Also noted by D. John, 1969 pp. 15-16, and G. S. Aurora, 1960, p.101.

ties sufficiently strong to bring them back) as a kind of investment. These men worked long hours, living as cheaply as possible in houses owned by village-mates, economising on food, heating, clothing, in order to save as much money as possible to send to the family in India. B. Dahya describes a similar situation among Pakistani immigrants. Only recently is this pattern changing, with married men buying private houses, as opposed to boarding houses, and bringing over dependants to Britain, thus assuming characteristics of prospective permanent settlers (1). It is still true, however, that comparatively few Indian wives are in gainful employment, unlike the West Indian women (2).

While I refer above to working-class immigrants, stereotypes are nonetheless formed by the compatriot students regarding their fellows according to reportage, especially derogatory, of such groups in the British press. Stories of the neglect and general untidiness of Indian womanless lodging houses for immigrants may be seized upon by African and West Indian students to show their superiority to their Indian fellows. Thus consequences of structural diversity can affect the formation of national stereotypes which are applied to all, regardless of class. Aurora points out how Indian immigrants dislike living in close proximity with West Indians, because they fear they will all be classified as one group, a "coloured" group, by white neighbours:

> "In the areas where a considerable number of Indians mix with the Jamaicans all the coloured people are thought of as one community, to the dismay of some Indians." (3)

Item (a) above may be termed the "cultural" reason; the groups are conscious of their culturally differing backgrounds, and find it hard to isolate common ground on which to mix informally.

---

1) D. John, 1969. p. 20; G. S. Aurora, 1960. p.100.

2) R. B. Davison, 1966, p. 68.

3) G. S. Aurora, 1960. p. 168.

Judith Henderson indicates the differing aims of Asian and West Indian immigrant groups; aims conditioning attitudes which make existing divisions the more emphatic:

> ".....the situation differs considerably as between the accommodating group, the Asians, who are trying to live alongside, rather than become incorporated into, the local community, and the assimilating group, the Negroes, who seek acceptance within it. The former make use of their traditional customs and language, through their organizations, to strengthen their own ties and maintain their own separateness. The latter are more or less committed to Western ways...." (1)

Rashmi Desai notes the separatist tendencies among coloured immigrants: although certain streets in Birmingham became 'coloured', there is no uniform spread of immigrants there, but "a tendency for the various groups of immigrants to gravitate to specific areas" (2). Even when Indians share their house with other immigrants, the relationship "is characteristically one of avoidance" (3).

Rex and Moore treated Irish, West Indian and Pakistani communities quite separately in their study of Sparkbrook. Each of these groups was organized within itself:

> "To some extent, however, each of the major ethnic groups, Irish, West Indian, and Pakistani, is organized as a whole..... Each of the groups has its own distinctive features, with regard both to the scale of its organizations and to the coherence of its culture." (4).

The categories of Indian, African, and West Indian students rarely meet socially, although, of course, they cannot avoid contact in their academic work. That this cannot always be assumed to be entirely welcome, slight though it be, is unfortunately the case. Africans have told me that Indians are "funny" to deal with socially - they look upon themselves as different, and "there is always girl trouble when they are around". One instance of this may be quoted here. An African student smiled at an English

---

(1) Judith Henderson, 1960. p. 78.
(2) Rashmi Desai, 1963. pp. 22-23.
(3) Ibid. , p.27.
(4) John Rex and Robert Moore, 1967. p.147.

girl he did not know at the book check-out counter of the University library; she responded. He did not notice a Sikh standing near, looking at them both. They left the library together, and it was when they were walking down the street that he noticed that they were being followed by the Indian student. He asked the girl about him, but she replied: "He is nothing to me; he has been making a nuisance of himself, and I want to get rid of him." (One realises that the girl's intention, in picking up the African, was to indicate to the Sikh that she was occupied, and wanted no more to do with him). Then the African and the girl decided to take a bus to Leicester Square for lunch to lose their follower; he also boarded the bus, but had to go upstairs, and so missed them when they got off. After lunch they returned to college together for lectures. There was no sign of the Indian student. However, the following day the African met him on the street; the Sikh approached him and told him, in no uncertain terms, to "leave my girl alone, or there'll be trouble." Astonished, the African told him he had no idea of their relationship, but had just taken the girl out to lunch. He talked to him about the common bond between the coloured races, and how they should not let a quarrel over a woman come between them; - however, this made no impression on the Indian, who again warned him off his girlfriend. The African said he had not looked at the girl again; he was "afraid of trouble". For some time after this incident, when he had walked into the bar at his college, the Sikh, if he happened to be there, would point him out to his friends (all Indian), and they would mutter together and stare at <u>him</u> - no doubt to impress on the African the seriousness of their intentions should he again make advances to the Sikh's girlfriend; it certainly had its effect. It is almost unknown for an English girl student to have both Indian <u>and</u> African boyfriends; it is either one or the other. Indians of my acquaintance become reserved and distantly polite in the company of Africans; some have told me they find it detestable to see white girls with Africans: "I don't know what she sees in him---sex, I suppose!" They maintain that once any girl has had sexual relations with a negro, she will be satisfied with no-one else. It appears that the myth of the sexual superiority of the negro, which gives rise to so much jealousy among white men, exists also among Indians, and perhaps is emphasized by them to under-

line their distance from the negro, not only culturally but also physically, and their similarity to whites. On the other hand, I have known African students refer to girls who associate consistently with Indian students as "Indian beef!"

More tolerant Indians have classified Africans as naive, having a simple and spontaneous sense of humour - looking on them, in fact, as intelligent children, more in amusement than irritation, adopting the paternatism of the colonial. Incidentally, and in support of this, there are indications that even in the security of their own country, educated Indians show little desire to associate with African students: the problems connected with the free inter-mixing of Indians and Africans have been described by Lini Sen Gupta, a founder of an International Students Club in Calcutta. (1). She was surprised to learn from an African clergyman in India how lonely most of his fellow-countrymen were during their stay in the country. They complained of Indian "inhospitality", deciding that it was caused by "the same sort of colour complex that exists in some of the African colonies". When the International Students Club was started, Africans made up the largest number of overseas members, and mixed very well indeed as long as discussion was kept away from controversial or touchy subjects. Miss Sen Gupta says: ".....they were, unfortunately, sensitive about colour to the extent of being bitter, and were always afraid of being ridiculed." There was misunderstanding because the African students regarded the fact that they could not "date" Indian girls as evidence of discrimination. They had to be informed gently of the tradition-bound Indian social code through the Club.

To return to item (b) mentioned above: the varying reactions of the host society to shades of skin colour may be termed the "accommodative" reason why any sociological study cannot treat of these immigrant groups merely as "coloured immigrants". Mrs. Sheila Patterson, in a very useful study has used this phrase, I think rather loosely (2). She says she has

---

(1) Lini Sen Gupta, 1964. p. 8. Cols. 4-7.

(2) Sheila Patterson, 1963. p. 3n.

used "coloured" in its commonly accepted meaning in Britain today - but what is its commonly accepted meaning? In Britain today it is difficult to know precisely whom a man is speaking of when he refers to "coloured people". The only thing certain is that he definitely includes all negroes in the classification. The yellows, buffs and browns may or may not be massed under the same term, according to individual predilection or experience. Few indeed are those who would echo the elderly lady quoted by Butterworth (1), who said: "I don't know a Pakistani from a Jamaican." More often the working-class Englishman is capable of making distinctions in such terms as: "...the Jamaicans are more educated. They don't eat with their fingers." "We have an objection to that Indian curry." (2). All coloured immigrants must experience some form of colour prejudice, overt or submerged; but the difference between that experienced by negroes and that suffered by Asians is both qualitative and quantitative. For instance, that Indians, (and, to an even greater extent, Chinese) do not find so many difficulties in their search for accommodation can be judged from Appendix III - Accommodation Analysis - and from the figures supplied by the University of London Lodgings Bureau (see Ch.2). Qualitatively there is not quite the same aversion to social interaction with Asians as with negroes. Sheila Webster's data (In an unpublished MS. in Edinburgh University - Negroes in Bluebrick)on negro students at Oxford and Cambridge lend support to this statement; the white women students questioned drew a distinction between Africans on the one hand, and Asians, including Indians and Chinese, on the other. More abstractly, A. J. Gregor (3) has discussed the relation that depth of pigmentation has to growth of racial prejudice both historically and currently. He points out that the degree of association and ease of group integration works in inverse proportion to the degree of physical dissimilarity.

A. T. Carey, after collecting evidence of the difficulties experienced by foreign students in finding accommodation in London, concludes that

---

(1) Eric Butterworth, 1964, Vol. 6. p.135.

(2) Tom Stacey, 1961. p.19.

(3) A. James Gregor, 1960-61. pp.217-224.

a landlady's reluctance to accept such a student increased with the darkness of his skin (1). Judith Henderson quotes Dr. Carey in support of the argument that the British are conscious of differences in the colour spectrum:

> "Of great interest were the comments Dr. Carey elicited from landladies themselves. Several appeared to assume that offering rooms to coloureds, particularly Africans, would involve them in complications of a sexual nature.... 'Similar fears are occasionally expressed about Asians and foreign Europeans, but they are primarily associated with African and other Negro students; they fit the popular view of the African as an "uncivilized" and peculiarly "primitive" type of man'." (2) Underlinings mine.

G. S. Aurora, too, writes of a difference in approach and attitude in the Englishman's relationship with Asians as opposed to the Negro nations:

> "Because Indians have a certain facial similarity to the Europeans and on an average they are lighter than an African, they appear less strange than an African to the English people. Besides, Indians unlike the Africans are not completely associated with primitiveness and underprivileged status." (3)

In view of all this, although the tremendous usefulness of the general studies on the colour question in Britain (4) should be acknowledged, they must always be read with the reservation that they are not expressly about Indians in particular. That studies of Indians have not been neglected overseas may be judged by the works of, among others, Benedict, Jayawardena, Klass, Kuper, Mayer and Morris. Since such special emphasis is given to Indian immigrants in other countries, the same should surely apply in the United Kingdom. In recent years interest in expatriate Indians in Britain has increased, but has been confined mostly to the working-class immigrant. The elite professional/student group remains sparsely investigated.

---

(1) A. T. Carey, 1956. p. 54ff.

(2) Judith Henderson, 1960. pp. 59-60.

(3) G. S. Aurora, 1960. p. 169.

(4) Especially should be noted the work of Little, Banton, Davison, S. Collins, Donald Wood, Judith Henderson, Violaine Jonod, A. T. Carey, A. H. Richmond, James Wickenden, among many others.

The first published study confined to Indian migrants was that by Dr. R. H. Desai, specifically on Indian workers in Britain. This book gives a comprehensive survey of their social activities, of how closely-knit in regional groups they are, of surviving ties with India, and of the necessary economic contacts with the host society. But the subjects of this study are factory workers, postmen and local transport employees, and just as we find that Young and Willmott have produced comparative studies of two different social classes in British society, so we may expect to find variations of social outlook and organisation between Indians of the student and professional grades here in Britain, and their compatriots numbered among the unskilled/semi-skilled workers. I hope that these differences, as well as any parallel social phenomena, will emerge through this study.

G. S. Aurora, in his London University M.Sc. thesis of 1960 (1) deals with Punjabi factory workers in Southall. He shows the way traditional groupings, e.g. kinship relationships, village ties, co-exist with emergent grouping forces, e.g. similar interests, working in the same factory, at the same bench; and traces structural changes in the pattern of immigration gradually becoming apparent, and the development of immigrants' interest in certain spheres of British life, e.g. the political. He notes the split between the educated migrant/student and the uneducated workers, termed "uncouth illiterates" (2). His interest, however, is centred on the factory floor.

Dewitt John's book, Indian Workers' Associations in Britain, also deals with immigrant Sikh workers in Southall, but at a later stage of settlement. He deals with the internal politics ("groupism") of the Indian Workers' Association, its relations with others in Great Britain, the problems of leadership and contacts with such British organisations as the local Labour Party, Trades Unions, and Voluntary Liaison Committees. Here again he is dealing mainly with the shop floor, plus small businessmen and boarding house owners - largely the same type of field as that studied by R. H. Desai,

---

(1) G. S. Aurora's thesis has been published in Bombay by Popular Prakashan in 1967, with the title: The New Frontiersmen: a Sociological Study of Indian Immigrants in the United Kingdom.

(2) G. S. Aurora, 1960. pp. 159-160.

in fact. He fleetingly mentions the University graduates forced to take blue-collar jobs in U.K., their bitterness and disillusionment, and discomfort through having to work and mix with the uneducated:

> "I tried to get a job as a clerk for four weeks.... Finally I gave up and took a job in a factory. It is very difficult; the men who are over me don't have any education at all." (1)

Peter Marsh's book, The Anatomy of a Strike, should be mentioned at this point; this, too, centres on industrial relations in Southall, breaking down a crisis interaction between Union, workers and employers. (2)

Dr. Joyce Chaudhri has gauged the survival of caste as a political alignment in the Punjabi community of Southall (3), again dealing with industrial immigrant workers.

Up to now, little has been produced on élite stranger groups in Britain; Miss Violaine Junod has examined the "coloured social elite", but her report is almost completely confined to West Indians and Africans of that class: there are only fleeting references to Indians; but it would be unfair to criticize Miss Junod because of this, as she has deliberately excluded them from her field of research. (Nevertheless, this does give some indication of what confusion the blanket term "coloured" can lead to, as used by Miss Junod in her title - here it obviously means "negro").

In 1963 Dr. A. K. Singh published his survey, mentioned above, p.14, of the difficulties faced by Indian students on their arrival in Britain, their problems of social contact, accommodation, language, academic standards, adaptation to a foreign environment, etc. Investigating partly by questionnaire, partly by interview, he has illustrated several interesting variations of experience according to each individual's social and economic class in Western terms. However, although we have here valuable information

---

(1) Dewitt John, 1969. pp. 29-30.

(2) A very thorough study by Badr Ud-Din Dahya on Pakistani workers in Bradford (University of London M.Sc. thesis, 1967) is complementary to these studies.

(3) Joyce Chaudhri and Autar Dhesi. 1969. pp. 3-5.

on the impact which foreign study and an alien environment have on different categories of Indian students, there is no examination of social contact among themselves, what forces unite and divide them, the perpetuating influences of Indian society, the clubs and associations formed among them in Britain, and what sort of contacts, if any, they may have with the already established Indian professionals. The vertical divisions of the traditional Hindu caste system intersect the horizontal lines of Western class structure in Indian society, but are not blotted out by the latter. Joseph Elder illustrates this in his detailed account of social relations among employees of a sugar mill in U.P. He finds a general correspondence between the traditional caste hierarchy and the ranking of jobs in the mill; the twice-born castes hold higher positions than the once-born, while these latter are rated higher than the scheduled castes. (1) Even so, material factors were not the only means to high rank/prestige: the Brahman priests were paid less than the chief mill technicians, yet their ritual seal of approval was deemed necessary for any major event at the mill, and their higher ritual status was emphasized and socially recognized by their separate housing, within the temple compound. Only Brahmans were their informal social contacts, even though these might be of comparatively low secular status. At rituals, Brahman priests held absolute authority, supreme status, being revered by all, even those highest in the secular sphere. (2)

Bases of Internal Differentiation: Caste

Caste ties, unlike the more fluid ones of class, rank as "primordial attachments" in Geertz's sense of the term (3). He says:

> "The general strength of such primordial bonds, and the types of them that are important, differ from person to person, from society to society, and from time to time. But for virtually every person, in every society, at almost all times, some attachments seem to flow more from a sense of natural, some would say spiritual, affinity than from social interaction." (4)

---

(1) Elder Joseph W. 1964. pp. 145-6.
(2) Ibid., p. 153 ff.
(3) Clifford Geertz: 1963. p.109.
(4) Ibid., pp. 109-110.

That these forces of affinity are still in evidence in much of the Indian student's informal social intercourse in Britain should become evident from the following pages.

Class and caste systems are not incompatible. Cox (1) points out that there may be social classes within the bounds of one caste (as a glaring example of this may be quoted the numerous Brahmins in official positions of high prestige, and their fellow-caste-members who are greatly sought-after as cooks because of their ritual purity by virtue of which members of any caste may eat food cooked by them without becoming defiled). Cox also points out:-

> "A crucial difference between a social class and a caste is that, with reference to the social order, the caste is a status-bearing entity, while the social class is a conceptual stratum of status-bearing entities." (2)

An individual may rise through a class structure according to his personal status; but by doing so he does not raise his whole class one iota - neither is there a collective and positive effort to do so; an ambitious man may through his own efforts move from working-class to lower middle-class, or from lower middle-class to upper middle-class, or he may assist his children to do so.

In India, however, there are many examples of whole sub-castes trying to improve their position in the hierarchy, by adopting vegetarianism, for instance, or prohibiting widow-remarriage. Cox clarifies this position thus:-

> "In a class system it is the family or person who is the bearer of social status; in the caste system it is the caste. The caste system emphasizes group status and morality; the individual without a caste is a meaningless social entity. He is an object naturally ignored by the rest of society. In the process of subjectively classifying persons for consistent behaviour relationships, the individual's rank may be determined only through a knowledge of his caste. On the other hand, it would be ridiculous

---

(1) O. C. Cox, 1948. p. 301. Race. 1948. New York. Doubleday. p.301.

(2) Ibid. p. 301.

> to say that we know an individual's rank through a knowledge of his social class. We do not define an individual's status by first determining his class position, but rather we determine his class position by ascertaining his status." (1)

Again, (2), although an individual may fall in the class system, he cannot be "outclassed" as he can be "outcasted". He will still remain in some class, even though he has fallen from his previous ranking. A class cannot expel one of its members, because it is not organised so to do.

Since the caste remains one of the basic divisive forces in Indian society, and since it and social class are not mutually exclusive, we may expect to find both at work among Indian students and professional people in Britain. To treat only one of these social forces is to give an incomplete picture. However, Indian students are hesitant to speak frankly about caste nowadays, and would certainly not respond openly to questions on it in a questionnaire; the survivals of caste influence have to be judged from careful observation, preferably on informal occasions, and private, casual, conversation. Whereas caste discrimination is non-existent among Indian students and professionals in Britain, caste stereotypes and the prejudice that goes with them simmer constantly just below the surface of social intercourse. The intricacies of sub-caste ranking do not figure largely in Britain; most Indians are content with placing an individual safely in one of the four main divisions, Brahmin, Kshatriya, Vaishya and Sudra, or as an outcaste, a Harijan. Sub-castes are of interest only among Indians from the same area of origin; but even then the knowledge of this is treated casually. These finer distinctions are no doubt irrelevant because of numerical paucity in Britain. The caste units of socially effective size are the four varna. I have said that in most cases Indian students and professionals would not admit to caste-consciousness; it is nevertheless revealed spontaneously in other, informal, contexts. I shall discuss this later; one instance of this will suffice now: on one occasion, a professional man was phoned by a friend of his, M, to say that he was sending round a new arrival to meet him and get some advice on finding a job in Britain. When

---

(1) op. cit. p.302.
(2) Ibid. p.312.

the interviewer asked if the new arrival was also a Brahmin like the other two men, the reply was: "Naturally; M would not send him along if he were not!"

This tendency to ignore sub-caste groupings is found in most overseas Indian communities; the finer distinctions of the caste system, together with commensal rules and avoidance, and economic interdependence, are lost; a man's prestige rests more on his educational standard, his wealth, his political power (1). These attributes are not necessarily connected with caste status, although in practice they may be an outcome of it, in that the higher castes were usually the best-educated and therefore became community leaders. The function of the varna in India, namely, as a framework of reference so that men from different areas can fit themselves approximately into the system wherever they may be, suits the expatriate situation. Mayer suggests that the varna has been made more important through the lack of caste-group organizations; he goes on to say: "Hence, there are indications that the varna has to some extent 'replaced' the caste as the endogamous unit." (2) In this respect, overseas Indian communities have retained consciousness of varna significance, though they may have lost effective caste/sub-caste allegiance within it. Colin Clarke, writing of Indians in Trinidad, finds that only 27% of his sample marry outside their varna, whereas 50% marry outside caste (3); for Guyana, Raymond Smith and Chandra Jayawardena say a statistically significant number of informants marry within "caste categories" (similar to varna), and that "an attempt is made to avoid great disparties of caste rank." (4) Hilda Kuper quotes Rambiritch and van den Berghe (1961) who investigated an East Indian community in Natal, as saying that out of 318 cases, in only 25 was varna endogamy ignored. (5) In Mauritius, Burton Benedict finds most marriages are endogamous as to caste; and even non-endogamous marriages tend to occur in "the middle range of castes", which suggests surviving varna endogamy. (6) Barton Schwartz

---

(1) A. C. Mayer, 1967. p.9.
(2) Ibid. p.5.
(3) Colin Clarke, 1967. p. 186.
(4) Smith/Jayawardena, 1967. p.73.
(5) Hilda Kuper, 1967. p.253.
(6) Burton Benedict, 1967. p.37.

finds that 53% of marriages in the community he studied in Trinidad are varna endogamous (1); and to my mind it is significant that the highest percentage of these (50%) occur among Sudras, while the highest percentage of exogamous marriages occur among Brahmins (77%). This is a possible indication of the reluctance of the twice-born castes to intermarry with Sudras, the opposite being the case with Brahmins. Though Schwartz considers the possibility of twice-born caste endogamy, resulting in Sudra endogamy, he does not accept this because of "the fallacy of superimposing the traditional values of Indian culture upon East Indians involved in a significantly different society." While accepting this caution, the point must be made that the Indian community, for the purposes of the study, is already being broken down into varna, and the influence of a new environment and economic structure on caste activity is studied in detail. Since "traditional values of Indian culture" are already being considered "in a significantly different society", it appears strange to conclude that some such values, such as varna endogamy, are worth review, while others are not. Later in the same article, Schwartz admits that "ideas of caste survive.....in relation to marriage, to conflict situations and to genealogical status." (2) Why not, then, such "ideas of caste" to maintain the once-born/twice-born dichotomy where marriage is concerned? It is not only Schwartz who qualifies the flat statement "caste.....does not exist" in overseas Indian communities. Others, too, seem to suspect that, though such practical manifestations of the caste system as pollution, commensality, caste endogamy, hereditary occupation and economic interdependence, are non-existent or rare, there is an underlying motivation in social interaction only explainable by generalities of a value-system of a traditional, and, by now perhaps, possibly half-alien society. Smith and Jayawardena show that, while caste is no longer a principle of social structure, it remains a source of prestige on which a high-caste man can draw in certain social activities. Though caste as a system no longer functions, an "idiom of caste" persists (3). Hilda Kuper,

---

(1) Barton M. Schwartz, 1967. p.129.
(2) Ibid., 1967. p.144.
(3) R. T. Smith and C. Jayawardena, 1967. p.88.

Ibid.

speaking of Indians in South Africa, sums up the situation neatly thus: "The ideology of caste affects many inter-personal relations, even when it does not operate as a clearly defined system of structural social relationships." (1) Passing to formal, associational relationships, it is true that these are, generally, not caste-based overseas. Nevertheless, there is likely to be a "caste bias" in leadership, high positions being held by high-caste men, and, therefore, upper class men. Though their positions may be due to the latter factor, the former provides a "bonus of esteem" which can be used to tip the scale, all other things being equal (2).

In subsequent chapters it will appear how the "idiom" or "ideology" of caste persists among Indian students in U.K., both in informal and formal social relationships. Their position most closely resembles that of their compatriots in East Africa, in that ties with India are still strong, there is frequent interchange of news, gossip and persons, and activities abroad will affect status of individual and family in India - important, since marriage partners are still sought there. H. S. Morris says of Indians in East Africa: "....although they were not able to construct a caste system in Africa, they were obliged to maintain the identity and a large part of the exclusiveness of their jati. In particular they dared not fail to arrange correct endogamous marriages, so that on their permanent return to India - a hope cherished by all though achieved by few - they could once more assume their proper place in the local system." (3)

Caste is not only a social and economic system; it has its own philosophy and, above all, the authority of religion. While the intellectual Hindu may disclaim a belief in the tenets of Hinduism and scorn any reference to caste, there is still remaining an underlying consciousness of the traditional implications of caste rank: "A man's caste is the outward sign of the history of his soul." (4) With such implications, it would be a matter for remark if caste consciousness did not persist, though the discriminatory practices associated with the system may be largely abandoned.

---

(1) Hilda Kuper, 1967. p.244.
(2) A. C. Mayer, 1967. p.10.
(3) H. S. Morris, 1967. p.276.
(4) Katherine Mayo, 1927. p.144.

Region of Origin/Language:

A second divisive force is that of region of origin, linked with native language. The jealous adherence to the latter has in recent years been made painfully obvious by the rioting in South India which followed the elevation of Hindi to become the national language of India, and by the campaigns to establish linguistically-based states. Language differences reinforce regional ties, and these differences maintain their effectiveness among Indians of the professional classes and students abroad, both in the spontaneous growth of close friendship sets and in the formation of formal associations of restricted membership. Both of these will be examined in detail later.

The linguistic and regional divisions in Indian society are almost as subterraneously embedded as those of caste. Again, it is not popular now to stress them; Indian unity is the ideal. But ideals, while providing fruitful basis for argument and discussion, are of little help to administrative systems. Clifford Geertz points out that in 1920 the Congress party "had actually reorganized its own regional chapters along linguistic lines so as better to secure its popular appeal." (1) Geertz also describes the territorial reorganisation of India in the following terms:

> "....horrified or not, Nehru, Patel and Sitaramayya in the end were forced to endorse the claims of Andhra as a Telugu-speaking state, and the thin ice was broken. Within the decade India had been almost entirely reorganized along linguistic lines, and a wide range of observers, both domestic and foreign, were wondering aloud whether the country's political unity would survive this wholesale concession to 'narrow loyalties, petty jealousies, and ignorant prejudices'." (2)

Language is one of the "primordial attachments" isolated by Geertz. He sees its divisive forces especially powerful in India (3). It is interesting that he sees linguistic conflicts as most prone to arise in the educational sphere: he mentions schools in particular (4), but we may include colleges here as well, taking into account the restless and

---

(1) Op. cit., p.105.
(2) Ibid., p.106.
(3) Ibid., p.112.
(4) Ibid. p.125.

turbulent Indian student life, and the younger average age of Indian undergraduates as compared with those in Britain. (1)

The students are in a particularly favourable position to express the sentiments which must be contained by their more responsible elders - as Lipset puts it:-

> "Their libidos are unanchored.....Their contact with the articulated moral and political standards of their society is abstract; they encounter them as principles promulgated by older persons, as impositions by authority, rather than as maxims incorporated into and blurred by their own practice." (2)

Student political activity and indiscipline may to a great extent reflect and/or anticipate unrest in the adult section of the community; Lipset says:-

> "In large measure, student political behaviour is anticipatory adult political behaviour, particularly in developing countries..... Consequently, student behaviour will often reflect the state of adult politics, even if in a more extreme reformist fashion." (3)

In view of the divisive force of linguism in India, (further discussed p.6 ff in this study) especially prominently expressed in student activity, we may expect to find its influences at work to some extent among students and professionals in the United Kingdom.

Linguism is, of course, an aspect of regionalism, another of Geertz's "primordial attachments". In India, the two are so united as to be almost indivisible. The force of these basic loyalties is evident by their effect on modern political manoeuvres; when the campaign for Maharashtra, as a linguistically-based state, was promoted, both the Communists and the Praja-Socialists supported it; in the rival Gujarat, these same parties campaigned for a Gujarati-based state.

---

(1) M. Cormack, 1961. p.191.

(2) S. M. Lipset, 1964. p.31.

(3) Ibid. p.36.

Regional stereotypes have not been formed as a result of recent political adjustments; as S. S. Harrison says: "Their strength is the strength of age, of roots deep in the triumphs and humiliations of a venerable history." (1) A remarkable similarity between stereotypes of fellow-Indians from other regions held by University students and housewives has been noted by V. K. Kothurkar during an investigation carried out in Poona (2). As "University education is supposed to broaden the horizon of social experience" it was presumed that the students would be less prejudiced than the housewives. In point of fact the two groups used almost the same adjectives to characterize the eight different provincial groupings tested. Out of a total of 40 pairs of adjectives, about 30 were identical. Kothurkar concludes ....."these social images .... are deeply ingrained in social thought so that they cannot be easily effaced or altered by the apparently wide social experience that the collegians have." Harrison (3) refers pessimistically to the growth of new "regional elites", and the effects of an increasing literacy, not in English, not in Hindi, but in the regional languages, encouraged by the teaching of State history in the schools, regional newspapers, regionally-produced films, etc. He is concerned about what the ultimate effect of this will be at a governmental level, if the teaching of English is not maintained, or the teaching of Hindi not stepped up considerably. Unless something along these lines is attempted, it may happen that "India will be led in not too many years by a generation of bureaucrats and politicians unable to talk meaningfully to one another on a national stage." (4)

Since we may assume that Indian students and professionals in Britain have a reasonable working knowledge of English, and also are fluent in their own regional language, it is interesting to see what effects these linguistic factors, coupled with regional loyalties, may have on the organisation of their social habits over here, if any. It has just been shown how strongly these factors operate in India, and, provided the Indians concerned were in

---

(1) S. S. Harrison. 1960, p.12.
(2) V. K. Kothurkar, 1954. pp. 103-110.
(3) Op. cit., 1960. pp. 55 ff.
(4) Ibid. p.93.

Britain in sufficient numbers, it would be strange if the influences were not felt even at so great a distance, especially since in the works mentioned previously on Indian migrants overseas, the facts of area of origin and language are shown as considerable divisive forces. Nirmal Kumar Bose, indeed, has recently gone so far as to say: "The worst manifestation of provincial antagonism has often taken place among English-educated young men rather than among the uneducated....." (1)

Tradition and Modernity: The student's dilemma.

A problem of more recent development for the Indian intellectual whether in India or abroad is his position as a sort of liaison officer between tradition and Western modernity. Professor Stonequist has differentiated between the "cultural hybrid" and the "racial hybrid" (2); miscegenation is not a pre-requisite for the development of the "marginal man". In fact, the cultural hybrid's situation may be even more difficult than that of the racial hybrid, since physically he may be classified as belonging to one race and culture while intellectually he may be oriented towards an entirely different value-system. He may find himself forced to a choice between two cultures, or condemned to a place of exile outside both, or making an uneasy compromise by leaning heavily in favour of one culture while still retaining some traits of the other and never wholly abandoning it. Professor Stonequist shows that the spread of European civilisation has rapidly increased the numbers of both cultural and racial hybrids.

Some have gone so far as to term the position in which the Indian intellectual finds himself as an intermediary between East and West as his "schizophrenic" situation. (3). Professor Shils outlines the basic difference between Eastern and Western value-systems; in the latter the importance and dignity of the individual are paramount: the former, on the other hand, requires the absorption of the individual into the mass, leading to ultimate union with Brahma. There is little "human interest" in literature or journalism, few attempts to enter the mind of a fellow-being to

---

(1) Nirmal Kumar Bose, 1964. p.159.
(2) E. V. Stonequist, 1961. p.54.
(3) E. A. Shils, 1961. p.69.

better understand it. However dramatic the situation, the individual's ultimate response to it is normative. This is the effect of the embedded caste-system, by which every man's role is ordered for him, restricting opportunity for individual choice. The caste-system, and restrictions on individuality relative to it, militate against democracy and the free thinking and intellectual development that underlie Western educational systems and methods. (Later we shall see how this affects the Indian student's work during his stay in Britain). This emphasis on individual choice of action is the hardest thing for the Indian intellectual to reconcile to his traditional environmental background. His sense of values is upset; he is no longer prepared to accept that because a man is old, he must be wise. Although intellectuals appreciate free choice of action, few of them exercise it in opposition to the surrounding social mores.

Margaret Cormack (1) quotes one young educated Indian woman who did not dare herself to break through traditional customs, but who said: "Our children will, especially if we help them." The results of the questionnaires put to Indian students by Margaret Cormack imply contradictory feelings on some points: (2) for instance, 71% of men, and 74% of women held that widow-remarriage should take place, and 84% of men and 82% of women held that widows should live and work without traditional restrictions. Even so, when questioned on the traditional "three obediences" (3) of Indian women (excluding that to sons), 53% of men still favoured it, as opposed to only 38% of women. (44% of the women held obediences to father and husband unnecessary). In spite of this, however, 92% of both male and female students felt that women University professors and lecturers should have the same privileges and respect as their male colleagues.

The tendency for educated men to favour the choice of educated wives, while still wishing to preserve conjugal dominance, interested Margaret Cormack. She says: (4)

---

(1) Margaret Cormack, 1961. p.77.
(2) Ibid. 1961, pp.110-111.
(3) Before marriage, a woman is subject to her father; after it, to her husband, and, on widowhood, she comes under the protection of her son.
(4) Ibid. 1961. p.97.

> "In interviews we sought to discover whether young men - who were vociferous in their demand to have educated wives, though some felt secondary school would be sufficient - foresaw any difficulties as regards their highly educated wives' independent and possibly different ideas. A few conceded this problem would arise, some indicated their willingness to accept a life of "give-and-take", but the great majority seemed naively confident that "education makes one more reasonable", and therefore would not cause wives to take opposing views." (Underlining mine)

The contradictions and difficulties involved here are only too obvious. Cormack quotes one young man as saying: "I will give my wife freedom of ideas, but she must not have more education than me." (1) The very choice of expression here is significant - "I will give my wife freedom of ideas" (underlining mine); the man is asserting his dominance even by allowing his wife freedom of thought and choice. Cormack summarises:

> "Men want more companionship and "equality", but they feel threatened, too. Women want more freedom and "equality", but they are understandably loathe to trade the security of dependence for the insecurity of independence." (2)

Such is the students' ambivalent attitude in India; they are being pulled in two directions at once - by the traditional value-system of the surrounding society and by the new Western ideals of free thought and action, derived from their education and reading.

R. Panikkar warns that introducing a Western scientific, technological education into the Eastern cultural framework is to invite "indigestion and spasmodic reactions". He believes the East is gulping down a new set of educational methods and tenets, without attempting to modify them to fit an indigenous frame of reference. To do this it is not necessary to regress:

---

(1) Op. cit. 1961. p.98.

(2) Ibid. 1961. p. 98.

> "The East asks for collaboration in rediscovering its own ways - not that the East should imitate them or follow them backwards - and in continuing them and joining with the West at a point still to be reached." (1)

Although Panikkar is distressed by the shattering impact of Western technological education on the values of a traditional society, he is optimistic that some synthesis can be achieved if striven for. The divergence between the position of the individual in Western achievement-oriented society and in an ascriptive caste society is emphasized by Louis Dumont. He states certain basic value oppositions: the "liberty and equality" ideal of the former comes up against the "interdependence and hierarchy" principles of the latter (2). His analysis of certain basic characteristics of caste society, which also give a structure to its members' environmental value-system, shows the traumatic readjustment necessary to an individual wrenched from such a system, where he counts in so far as he has a defined place in the social whole, to one in which he is judged primarily on his personal qualities and achievement through them. An understanding of this will help towards appreciation of the expatriate student's expressed need for attempted substitution of the home environment (impossible to achieve in entirety, of course), informally through co-regionalist friendship circles, and formally by means of regionally and linguistically based associations.

Dumont finds the modern concept of the individual implies that he is both a normative agent and the subject of social institutions such as the State and private property. The Indian social system, in order that it may function, demands a concept of complementarity which is reflected in all social situations (3) Interdependence works with this complementarity; an interdependence between higher and lower, a hierarchy being essential for such a system to achieve its end (4). For the caste system <u>as a whole</u>, the smallest ontological unit, or normative agent, is one in which hierarchy is

---

(1) R. Panikkar, 1967. p. 84.

(2) Louis Dumont, 1965a. p.14.

(3) Louis Dumont, 1965b. pp.85-86.

(4) Ibid., p. 90.

still expressed, e.g. a pair of higher/lower complementary empirical agents. Even transmigration expresses a complementary interdependence outside the one individual existence of the West (1). Dumont quotes the Hindu stress on the importance of marriage, the feeling that male and female must be joined together to reach completeness, as further evidence of a desire for complementarity; likewise the joint family, not only in its economic links, but in the father-son tie therein; and the land system, where more than one person may have rights in a given piece of cultivable ground, a kind of "divided ownership". (2) Such a social system must obviously depend on "reciprocal adjustment" rather than constant self-assertion which can only bring about conflict and a disastrous severing of relations. (3) "Everything is at once one and many"; only a concrete situation can determine which aspects of the social whole become operative in any one context. In the modern West, the ontological unit is the individual, but in Indian caste society it is always "a whole, whether big or small, an entirety embodying relations, a multiplicity ordered by its inner, mostly hierarchical, oppositions, into a single whole." (4) Dumont sees the only person to escape this structured interaction as being the sannyasi, but in order to escape and be free to express an individualism he must renounce his world; he opts out of the system, since he cannot withdraw from the interactive hierarchy and stay a part of it (5). From C. P. and Z. K. Loomis' critique of Max Weber's analysis of the Indian social order and its contrast to ascetic Protestantism we find a general similarity between Dumont's views and those of Weber. While the Western ascetic Protestant had as his chief goal the glorification of God by fulfilling His calls, however diverse or difficult, the Hindu "was exhorted to close his mind and blind his eye to any kind of venturesomeness in respect to his calling which was always prescribed by caste." (6) Authoritarianism and the unalterability of the world order were everywhere understood; for the Hindu to win through to any form of salvation he must

---

(1)Ibid., p.91.
(2)Ibid., pp. 92-97.
(3)Ibid., p.98.
(4)Ibid. p.99.
(5)Ibid. p.91.
(6)C.P. and Z. K. Loomis, 1969. p. 46.

conform to the social order, not deviate from it. (1) Ultimate salvation must come from complete renunciation of worldly matters; work in the world, however beneficial, did not equal withdrawal from it, thus leaving the predominant social order unaffected. The sannyasi does not deviate from or seek to upset the social norm: by act of will he adopts the socially accepted role of Renunciator ("the great shadow of the Renouncer", to quote Dumont) (2), and thus the amoeba-like structure of Hindu society embraces even he who rejects it, remaining whole and unbroken. The expatriate Indian student, usually of a twice-born caste reinforced by a comparatively high class ranking, comes from a social milieu where he is assured of ascriptively-based status at least, to one in which he will be judged by his achievements. He is not a sannyasi, a renouncer, and he does not wish to alienate himself completely from the system to which, most probably, he expects to return and re-adapt himself, whether it be after two years, ten, or twenty. He is a visitor to Western achievement-oriented society, and may never become fully alive to the social norms operative within, so that the individual freedom offered may be to him exaggerated, especially in the academic milieu in which he moves. In Western society the individual is not a completely free agent, but he does have a freedom of choice, particularly in personal matters, which the Indian student will not expect to have at home; for instance, it is not at all probable that a Western professional family would prevent a marriage because the bride's great-grandmother happened to have been a parlourmaid (even if they wished to do so, as long as the partners were of age, they could do nothing to stop it, since it is quite possible for a young couple to move away and be quite self-sufficient). In India, however, the caste system necessitates careful examination of a couple's forebears before a union can be arranged; should one of low caste be found, or diseases such as tuberculosis or diabetes mellitus be discovered in the family, negotiations are likely to be broken off by family members. Such social attitudes emphasize the importance of marrying within caste, since to do otherwise may not only affect one's own prospects, but those of descendants, too; and intra-caste ties make it easier to check on

---

(1) Ibid. pp. 47-48; 51.
(2) Louis Dumont, 1965b. p.99.

family health and disposition, too. To start out in life in India without the support of kin, not only for required rites de passage, but also in other matters such as career advancement, which are more achievement-oriented in the West, can spell despair for a young couple. In such ways certain individual liberties, taken for granted in the West, are restricted and circumscribed in India. To be plunged into an environment which, to him, seems impossibly free, can raise problems of social behaviour to the student which he may never completely solve throughout his stay, leading to, at best, misunderstandings, at worst, real unpleasantness. Such difficulties will be illustrated in later chapters.

In the following chapters we shall consider first of all the number and type of students coming here, some problems of adjustment faced by them, and organised attempts to make the cultural transition less traumatic. We shall then pass on to the student's own ways of dealing with the strangeness of his situation: firstly, through informal segmentary friendship circles, and secondly, by co-regionalist associations which keep significant characteristics of the home environment before him.

An obvious assumption to make is that a study period in Britain would broaden a student's outlook and experiences immeasurably; but the bulk of this research suggests that this is doubtful in the case of the majority of Indian students.

CHAPTER II - THE INDIAN STUDENT'S SITUATION IN BRITAIN.

It is extremely difficult to find reliable statistical evidence of the numbers of Indian students in Britain at any given time. It is obvious that not all professional men necessarily attend the Universities ; there are many Indian Bar-at-Law students registered at the four Inns of Court, there are accountants, architects, journalists, for example, all studying or gaining practical experience in Britain to improve their position on return to India. In Tables I - III I have listed the numbers of Indian, and Pakistani University students pursuing full-time courses leading to Internal degrees since the session 1947-48, giving their distribution by subject; I have tabulated these figures graph-wise in Appendix II, and compared them with similar figures for Pakistani students over the same time-span, in order to discover whether such major extraneous events as the gaining of Independence by India and the separation of Pakistan, the race troubles in Nottingham and Notting Dale in London in 1958, and the passing of the Commonwealth Immigration Act, have had any appreciable effects on the arrival of students in the United Kingdom. From the graph it can be seen that there was a fall in Indian student numbers for three years after Independence; after this they began again to rise, from the session 1950-51. Pakistani student numbers remain relatively static for two years after Independence, until the session 1950-51, when there is a slight rise. After rising again in 1951-52, they remain fairly constant until 1954-55, although the intake of Indian students during this period rises rather steeply.

The race troubles in 1958 appear to have had their effect, since there is a slight fall in Indian and Pakistani student numbers in immediately subsequent sessions. The Indian intake, however, began to rise steeply again in 1960-61, and continued so to do until 1963-64. After a sudden drop of about 200 in that year, (immediately following the Immigrants Act of June 1962), the rise continued until 1967-68, since when there has been an appreciable decrease, possibly, at least in part, a consequence of the Commonwealth Immigrants Act of 1968, and the greatly publicised and highly emotive anti-immigrant build-up of popular feeling that preceded it.

Pakistani numbers rose in 1961-62 (coinciding with the Immigrants Act, incidentally), and maintained their level until 1966-67. In 1968-69 there was a slight drop in Pakistani student numbers, following the Indian trend; it is too early to say whether the decrease will continue, even out to a fairly steady intake, or revert gradually to previous figures. Judging from past examples, the last would seem the most likely: Indian and Pakistani student intake seems to assume a wave-like pattern.

Student numbers at London University have followed the intake trend for the country as a whole (see Graph B). From the Figures in Appendix I it can be clearly seen that London University, with its numerous constituent colleges, its affiliated and specialist institutions, absorbs by far the greatest number of both Indian and Pakistani students, the highest percentage bring in the session 1949-50, namely 56.24%. For all other years except one, the figure is well over 40%. This is one reason why London is a good centre for a study such as the one I have undertaken.

It is interesting that, as the numbers of Indian students coming to Britain increased, their preferential choice of University narrowed. (See App.I.) Whereas in 1947-48, 13 Universities held a fair representation of Indian students, by 1962-63 only 8 held enough to be individually quoted in the Commonwealth Universities' Yearbook. The contrary seems to have happened among Pakistanis; for the years 1947-50, only London University took enough to rank an individual listing; in 1950-51, 3 Universities, namely London, Cambridge and Edinburgh, are quoted. By 1960-61, however, the list had lengthened to seven, and by 1962-63 was five. The Royal College of Science and Technology in Glasgow has gained increasing importance among Indian students; intake increased from 60 in 1954-55 to 113 in 1962-63. This, of course, denotes the increased importance to India of scientific and technological studies; added to this is the fact that it is very much easier to obtain scholarships for studies abroad in these fields, as opposed to work in Arts subjects, or in the Social Sciences. The ever-increasing numbers coming to Britain, even for first degrees, in Technology may be seen from the following tables. (I include tables relating to Pakistani students for comparison).

Although in the two preceding paragraphs I have stressed the period 1960-1963, which reflects the situation at the time of my main fieldwork, I include figures for some preceding and succeeding years for comparative purposes.

Table Ia - Numbers of Indian students studying various subjects in British Universities

Date	Total	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H
1958-59	1,457	27	400	5	150	219		650	6
1959-60	1,476	28	409	8	161	205		659	6
1960-61	1,513	16 (11)	431 (223)	14 (11)	180 (151)	198 (160)		671 (220)	3
1961-62	1,660	24 (18)	233 (145)	21 (13)	202 (172)	223 (184)	210 (101)	741 (258)	6 (1)
1962-63	1,746	23 (21)	221 (150)	27 (12)	204 (181)	256 (197)	190 (100)	819 (338)	6 (1)
1963-64	1,543	15 (14)	226 (161)	19 (12)	126 (104)	261 (192)	167 (96)	725 (354)	4 (2)
1964-65	1,673	17 (17)	236 (181)	21 (14)	126 (110)	294 (226)	173 (101)	803 (387)	3 (3)
1965-66	1,742	20 (20)	204 (156)	9 (3)	110 (96)	300 (243)	182 (102)	913 (470)	4 (4)

Table IIa - Numbers of Pakistani students studying various subjects in British Universities.

Date	Total	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H
1958-59	474	8	188	1	61	97		115	4
1959-60	435	9	165	-	60	90		109	2
1960-61	439	6 (4)	168 (79)	-	53 (34)	95 (75)		113 (49)	4
1961-62	526	10 (9)	98 (67)	4 (4)	57 (37)	152 (129)	78 (34)	121 (67)	6
1962-63	619	11 (9)	85 (48)	6 (5)	73 (60)	215 (199)	79 (40)	145 (89)	5
1963-64	749	10 (9)	99 (70)	3 (3)	109 (93)	236 (223)	112 (65)	178 (124)	2
1964-65	942	17 (16)	138 (107)	5 (3)	128 (117)	300 (280)	140 (81)	210 (153)	4 (4)
1965-66	910	18 (18)	116 (92)	1 (1)	73 (69)	301 (271)	138 (83)	261 (172)	2 (2)

Table Ib - Numbers of Indian students studying various subjects in British Universities.

Date	Total	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
1966-67	1,711	61(48)	140(118)	808(446) (1)	34(31)	305(251) (1)	208(139)	12 (7)	74(57)	69(45)
1967-68	1,568	50(39)	144(121)	720(431)	35(34)	288(221)	164(106)	34(25)	80(64)	53(34)
1968-69	1,153	76(45)	75(56)	541(359)	24(23)	214(187)	110 (84)	12(11)	59(52)	42(29)

Table IIb - Numbers of Pakistani students studying various subjects in British Universities.

Date	Total	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
1966-67	952	32(23)	85(78)	246(164) (1)	30(29)	306(288) (1)	163(103)	7(3)	40(34)	43(34)
1967-68	981	37(24)	95(83)	259(175)	26(25)	318(298)	151 (97)	20(14)	43(32)	32(25)
1968-69	949	32(18)	58(55)	280(202)	26(26)	345(334)	126 (84)	16 (9)	35(23)	31(19)

(1) For the session 1966-67 subjects 3 and 5 were designated "Engineering, Technology and Applied Science" and "Pure Science" respectively.

KEY to Tables Ia and IIa

A - Agriculture and Forestry

B - Arts

C - Dentistry

D - Medicine

E - Pure Science

F - Social Studies

G - Technology

H - Veterinary Science

KEY to Tables Ib and IIb

1 - Education

2 - Medicine, Dentistry and Health

3 - Engineering and Technology

4 - Agriculture, Forestry and Veterinary Science

5 - Biology and Physical Sciences

6 - Social, Administrative and Business Studies

7 - Architecture, Town and Country Planning, Home and Hotel Management

8 - Languages, Literature and Area Studies

9 - Arts other than Languages.

NOTES:

Bracketed figures denote numbers of postgraduates included in the total number studying a particular subject, e.g. Indian students, 1960-61: out of 14 studying Dentistry, 11 were postgraduate. There was no breakdown of subject totals into undergraduate/postgraduate students before the session 1960-61.

Before the session 1961-62, Social Studies were included under the general heading of Arts subjects.

All these figures are taken from the Commonwealth Universities' Yearbooks for the sessions concerned. In the volume for 1968 a new subject division was introduced, necessitating the two tables given above.

From these tables it can also be seen that the numbers of medical students from both India and Pakistan have increased during the period covered. The vast majority of these students are postgraduates. A similar picture emerges from those studying dentistry.

An interesting feature of these tables is the evidence that students of Arts subjects have not fallen to the extent one might expect, considering the restrictions placed on their coming to Britain in cases where their subject can be equally well pursued at home. It also appears that a high proportion of these Arts students are undergraduates. This applies, too, to the Social Science students - at least ever since separate records for them were kept, since the session 1961-62.

It is more difficult to ascertain the figures for Indian Bar-at-Law students, Accountants, Architects, etc. With such figures as I have been able to obtain, I have included those for qualified Indian architects, Barristers, doctors and dentists working in U.K. as these indicate the prevalent London/Home Counties' settlement pattern which is important as an indication of the catchment area of the core membership of the London-based, regional associations considered in Ch. V. Though this study is concerned mainly with students, the settled professionals' contacts with them are considerable, therefore an indication of the numbers involved is helpful.

The Kalendar of the Royal Institute of British Architects lists both qualified members and students. From a recent issue of this Kalendar I have estimated a total of 22 qualified Indian architects resident in the United Kingdom, and 4 Pakistani. Of the Indians, 9 were practising in the London area, 7 in the Home Counties, and six in other more distant parts of the British Isles. Of the four Pakistanis, 2 were practising in London, and two in Country areas. As far as Architectural students are concerned, according to the same issue of this Kalendar, there are 61 Indians studying here, and 19 Pakistanis. Of these Indians, 43 live in London, four in the Home Counties, and 14 in other parts of Britain. As for the Pakistanis, 11 are in London, 3 in the Home Counties, and five in Country districts. (See Table III below).

Table III - Distribution of Indian and Pakistani Architects and Student Architects in U.K.

	STUDENTS		PROFESSIONALS	
	Indian	Pakistani	Indian	Pakistani
London	43	11	9	2
Home Counties	4	3	7	0
Country	14	5	6	2
TOTALS	61	19	22	4

As might be expected, the majority of students live in, or close to, London, the headquarters of the Institute of British Architects. Although a majority of the qualified Indian architects also live in London or nearby, the numbers do seem to even out, and the same applies to the few Pakistanis practising here.

According to the Law List of 1965, the number of Indian barristers practising in the United Kingdom is 13, of whom nine live in London, 2 in Country areas, while the place of practice of two was undecided at time of preparation. There are 5 Pakistani barristers, of whom 3 are in London, one in Country districts, with 1 undecided. (See Table IV below).

Table IV - Distribution of Indian and Pakistani Barristers in the British Isles.

	Indian	Pakistani
London	9	3
Country	2	1
Undecided	2	1
TOTALS	13	5

The Inns of Court have varying degrees of exactitude in maintaining records of the number of Indian students registered with them. The Council for Legal Education, when applied to, referred me to the four Inns individually: but they varied considerably in response. Lincoln's Inn was unable to give any figures relating to the numbers of Indian students registered there for Bar-at-Law. Gray's Inn stated, in July 1965, that there were no Indian students registered there at that time, nor did they have any records of Indian barristers practising in Britain. The Middle Temple has records of students dating back to 1960, and the number of Indian students admitted there for the years 1960-4 and up to July 1965, is 32. Of these six have been called to the Bar and one has withdrawn. The remaining 25 are still on the register. The Inner Temple has kept record of the nationality of its students only since July 1962. Since then, up to July 1965, 80 Indian students were admitted to the Bar-at-Law course, and are still on the books of the Inn. These small numbers, as opposed to African or Chinese law students, are due to the fact that the examinations of the Indian Bar must now be passed before a barrister may practise in India, and therefore students tend to take only that examination.

The British Medical Register appears to be the only place to find a record of Indian and Pakistani doctors practising in Britain at the time of my fieldwork. All the doctors so registered are divided into two lists; one composed of those qualified in Britain, and one of those qualified in the Commonwealth, whose qualifications are nevertheless recognised for practice in this country. (See Table V below)

Table V - Indian and Pakistani doctors in U.K.

	Indians	Pakistanis	
British Medical Register List	228	41	
Commonwealth List	266	35	GRAND TOTAL
TOTALS	494	76	570

From these figures it is clear that the overwhelming majority of doctors from the Indo-Pakistan subcontinent were Indian in origin; only 13.33% of the total being Pakistani. (1) In Table VI below I have broken up these doctors according to area of practice:

Table VI - Area breakdown of Indian and Pakistani doctors in U.K.

	Indians	Pakistanis
London	80 (BMR List)	18 (BMR List)
	108 (C List)	12 (C List)
	188 TOTAL	30 TOTAL
Home Counties	38 (BMR List)	7 (BMR List)
	54 (C List)	8 (C List)
	92 TOTAL	15 TOTAL
Country	110 (BMR List)	16 (BMR List)
	104 (C List)	15 (C List)
	214 TOTAL	31 TOTAL
Grand Totals	494	76

There is, therefore, a high concentration of Indian and Pakistani doctors in the London area (which, for our purposes, is defined as London postal districts only). Of Indian doctors, 38.05% practise in London, and 39.46% of Pakistanis do so. In this respect the difference between the two groups is negligible. In addition to this, 18.62% of Indian doctors practise no further from London than the Home Counties, as do 19.73% of Pakistanis. In all, then, we have 56.67% of all Indian doctors concentrated in London and the Home Counties, and 59.19% of Pakistanis.

According to figures taken from the Dentists' Register referring to the time of my fieldwork, there were 149 Indian dentists in Britain, and

(1) Fluctuation in these figures is unavoidable, as doctors come and go, so they can be used only as an indication of a very fluid situation.

24 Pakistanis. The breakdown of these figures districtwise may be seen in Table VII below:-

Table VII - Area breakdown of Indian and Pakistani dentists in U.K.

Area	Indians	Pakistanis
London	70	11
England	73	13
Wales & Mon.	1	0
Scotland	5	0
N. Ireland	0	0
Channel Isles	0	0
Isle of Man	0	0
TOTALS	149	24

Out of the 73 Indian dentists practising in Country districts of England, 31 were in the Home Counties. Of the 13 Pakistanis, 5 were no further from London than the Home Counties. This means that 67.78% of Indian dentists were in London or within easy reach of it, and 66.66% of Pakistanis were also. The concentrations in and around the Metropolitan area are obvious; but we should not forget that a few have gone further afield - the one Indian dentist in Wales, for example, practising in Cardiff, or the 5 in Scotland: one in Midlothian, two in Glasgow and two in Fife. The strong concentration of Indian dentists in Birmingham (6), in Coventry (4), Luton (4), and 2-3 in certain other areas of Northern England, such as Manchester, Leeds and Sheffield, is interesting. Considering the substantial numbers of Indian and Pakistani immigrants in these areas, perhaps this shows that fellow South Asians in the professions are following to attend to their needs. By 1970, this process may have increased considerably; but I have chosen not to up-date this material, preferring to let it reflect the situation as it existed at the time my fieldwork was carried out.

To summarise the main findings from these figures:

Student numbers show little sign of a general decrease, except possibly at the Inns of Court, and this arises from the new regulations I have described regarding Indian qualifications for legal practice. A high percentage of the students are postgraduates, therefore of a reasonably mature age, and possibly married, though their wives may not accompany them abroad.

The majority of Indian University students here are studying scientific or technological subjects. This trend holds good for Pakistan also, as may be seen from the comparative material. Although the students are scattered among British universities the main concentration is in London. This, coupled with the fact that the majority of Indian professionals working here live either in London or near it, means that there is a sizeable upper middle class (and overwhelmingly upper caste) community in the area. It would be surprising if there were no internal differentiation within it, and we shall see later how this is, in fact, expressed.

STUDENT DIFFICULTIES

Financial:

While a large number of Indian University students coming to Britain are postgraduate, the number of undergraduates is by no means negligible, as mentioned before; in the session 1962-63, for example, they were 42.7% of the total intake. There were actually more undergraduates studying Technology than postgraduates. In the field of medicine, of course, there were considerably more postgraduates than undergraduates: 181 out of 204. Even more interesting is the fact that during the session 1962-63, only 493 out of the total 1,746 Indian students in Britain, or 28.23%, had officially recorded Awards or Scholarships. Before this session, less than a quarter had any kind of award or scholarship; there were only 23.06% scholars in the session 1960-61, and 22.53% in 1961-62.

Owing to exchange restrictions imposed by the Government of India, a proportion of these students must be suffering from a shortage of money. There are, of course, ways of circumventing this: some students have relations settled in Britain who can support them ; some have relations in East Africa, to whom the Government of India's restrictions will not apply,

who can send the student in Britain the money required for fees and living expenses, which will be repaid by the student's family in India when one of the East African branch of the family goes to India for a business trip or holiday. Still others can arrange that money be sent via Indian friends in Britain who are not using the full exchange allowance due to them. Many take vacation or part-time jobs to eke out their allowances from home. Many and devious are the ways of getting round financial stumbling-blocks, as long as the will and determination to study in Britain are there. All these difficulties, nevertheless, add severely to the stress and strain of adjustment that must be borne by the student; even those who are getting their money from India without great difficulty can be harrassed if, for some administrative reason, it is occasionally delayed. This must inevitably lead them into debt to their friends or their landladies, and they may have to ask the University or College authorities to intervene and explain the situation should the landlady become restive for her money.

Social unpreparedness:

The strangeness of his new environment may also hinder the new arrival from full application to his studies. This leads us to consider how great is his preparedness before he leaves home. On the whole, it seems that surprisingly little is done to acquaint the student with British social customs, and the various difficulties he may have to face. Probably the stories of Britain on which the prospective student places most reliance are those told him by friends and relatives who have previously studied here. This seems to be true everywhere: Banton (1) has found that West African seamen, on their return home, paint glowing pictures of Britain, and how fine life is there, thus encouraging compatriots to stow away on board British-bound ships. Banton makes the point that many of these stowaways are coming specifically for education, and hope to enter the professions. The same is true of West Indian migrants. A further incentive is that a foreign education acts as an investment; it can make one a better bargain as a marriage partner, and can also increase the chances of lucrative employment of high status.

---

(1) Michael Banton, 1953-54. p.2.

A Political and Economic Planning report (1) states that the majority of 287 colonial students interviewed were disillusioned after their arrival in Britain - most of them had built up far too rosy a picture before coming. They were disappointed by the widespread ignorance of the colonies displayed by so many British people. The students' ideas of Britain had been gleaned from relations, and from other returned compatriots; then, to a lesser degree, from expatriate English people, books, newspapers, films, and their teachers. The most reliable information seems to have come from relatives, for two-fifths of the students said their impressions had been confirmed on arrival, and these had gained their information from kin. The Asian students had a more sober idea of Britain, on the whole, than those from Africa, and were very intent on the advantages a Western education would bring them on their return home. They were less likely to imagine Britain as a "land of gold and honey", to quote a Gold Coast medical student. It is noted that the University students usually enjoyed their stay more than others.

The publication of essays by Commonwealth students, edited by Tajfel and Dawson, highlights the lack of adequate and balanced preparation of prospective students. Returnees seem to have given "over-optimistic accounts" of their stay in Britain (2). Official organisations have done no better. No doubt it is more encouraging to show those facets of British life which have much to commend them; but an unbalanced illustration can result in a severe disillusionment:

> "At seventeen, I came over believing in my gifts, my ability to absorb, build, be assimilated by society here....At twenty-three, I find most British attempts at friendship disingenuous; think most jokes involving Negroes, darkies and wogs are tasteless; regard most failures to get a room as a deliberate slight, and whenever there's talk of British justice, law and order I pretend I'm not listening." (3)

---

(1) P.E.P. Report, 1955. p.67 ff.
(2) H. Tajfel and John L. Dawson, 1965. pp. 142-143.
(3) Ibid., p.129.

The pricking of a student's balloon of high hopes can leave him with nothing but the tattered shreds of pride and personal dignity.

A comparison with the findings of an investigating team, headed by Dr. K. H. Pfeffer, on experiences of Pakistanis receiving training in Germany is interesting in this connection. One hundred foreign-returned Pakistanis were questioned in detail; of these only 53 stated they had read a book on Germany before leaving home, and even of these not all could remember the book or much about it - one had merely consulted the Children's Encyclopaedia. Only 19 said they had read translations of German literature before visiting the country, and only seven mentioned contemporary work. However, 67 had had contact with Germans in Pakistan, and 59 had spoken to Pakistanis returned from Germany. Only 42 claimed to have known anything in advance about German manners and social customs - indeed, they expected little difference from the British, about which they considered they knew sufficient. (1) Pfeffer concludes his observations by saying: that the students' "driving force" to work for the development of Pakistan would be utilised more effectively....." if the preparation before leaving Pakistan were more intense, if better chances were given for a broader and deeper acquisition of knowledge and if the young men and women who are sent to Europe were encouraged to use their stay for meeting a different civilization in all its aspects." (2)

In his investigations into the experiences of Indian students in Britain, Dr. A. K. Singh found a similar degree of unpreparedness prevalent among them. He divides the students into two classes, upper and middle - 70% of the latter were disappointed on arrival in Britain as opposed to only 43% of the former, who has got their information from relations or from personal experience, as opposed to the middle class students who had gleaned their information from friends and acquaintances only. Dr. Singh finds the disappointment experiences to be of three types: A--social; B--non-social (weather, food, cities, etc); C--personal. On the whole, however, the

---

(1) K. H. Pfeffer, et al. 1961. pp.28-29.

(2) Ibid. p.57.

foreign-returned are unreliable in their comments on Britain; unfavourable aspects are blotted out by distance, while all the pleasant things stand out in bright relief:

> ".....after returning to India people tended to conceal or minimise the difficulties they had experienced or, perhaps, to forget them. They publicised only the bright and attractive aspects, so that they created an unreal picture and misled others." (1)

Professor Shils, investigating foreign-returned professionals in India, supports this finding; he says that many Indian intellectuals spoke "with a catch in the throat of the wonderful times they had in London." (2)

The way in which this unpreparedness may affect a new arrival in Britain, even in small things which may prove awkward, can be shown from my own field-work. A South Indian Christian, who had had contacts with English people socially in South India, was amazed to find them working so hard in their own country. He spoke of his first landlord and landlady in these terms:

> "Not only do they work hard, but do all menial work in this Guest House with forty bedrooms, just like servants at home. I mistook them for servants first. This morning both went away in their car."

Two weeks after his arrival in Britain, he went to visit English friends of the family whom he had known in India, a missionary and his wife:

> "They both help each other in the house, Mr. A. carrying coal from the cellar and washing in the kitchen, tending the fire, making porridge for the morning, laying out the table for breakfast. I felt very sorry for him - my heart melted to see the old man working like this. But that is the way of life at present in England."

Even so, this student was impressed with the business-like attitude of English people:

---

(1) P.E.P. Report, 1961. p.290.
(2) E. A. Shils, 1961. p.81.

> "January 1st. is a working day for London - they mean business from the very first day of the year, a good beginning certainly has much in its favour."

A North Indian postgraduate student, aged about 45, and a senior member of his University's staff in India, still unmarried, had been misled by foreign-returned friends on the freedom of social contact between men and women in Britain. After a stay of one year, he said:

> "I have been really very disappointed here; I thought it would be easy to make friendships with English girls and enjoy some sexual satisfaction. Now I find it is very difficult; I have not been able to make a friendship with one."

All these examples show that there are varying degrees of unpreparedness among students of several different nationalities studying in Britain.

Official bodies in Britain publish useful pamphlets of advice for students coming from abroad: the London University Lodgings Bureau send enquirers a leaflet of information outlining the difficulties they may have to face regarding accommodation - the amount of travelling they must expect, and the average prices they will have to pay. Overseas students are recommended to make arrangements for temporary accommodation for their arrival, as the Lodgings Bureau "cannot book accommodation in advance for students coming from overseas, since owners of guest houses and private householders require an interview before accepting a tenant." (1) In this leaflet are listed the nationalities the British Council will help in finding temporary accommodation, India not being one of them, although Pakistan and Ceylon are. The various hostels, both those sponsored by the University and by the British Council, and those maintained by institutions such as the Victoria League, are listed. Indian students in particular are advised to contact their High Commission for help in finding accommodation. Married students from abroad are warned about the difficulties of finding flats at reasonable rents in London:

---

(1) Students' Information Leaflet, University of London Lodgings Bureau, 1965. p.2.

> "Students with limited means would be wise to leave their families at home until they have found a suitable flat or house in London. Flats where children are accepted are very hard to find." (1)

While the Lodgings Bureau's assistance is confined to the finding and management of suitable accommodation, the British Council produces a number of pamphlets designed to help the student's adjustment to normal daily life in Britain. Of course, only British Council scholars, Government-sponsored scholars, and other categories of students attached to the British Council have the advantage of this advice. There is a leaflet on Taking Care of your Health, which, among other things, describes the working of the National Health Service; one on How to Live in Britain, covering a variety of subjects such as cost of living, paid employment, luggage, money, accommodation, travel, "The Authorities", eating out, entertainment, holidays, etc., etc. Appendices include a list of embassies, legations and High Commissions in London, places of worship, hostels, accommodation bureaux, Overseas student societies, etc. Another leaflet lists the social clubs avialable to overseas students in London, and another describes the British Council Centre for Overseas Students at Portland Place, London. This last is the nerve-centre of social activities organised by the British Council for all overseas students. Useful introductory courses are organised by the British Council for new arrivals. These last 3-4 days, and are supervised by resident tutors with a maximum of 40 students. Instruction is preferably by example, and this is why residence is so important; for instance, if a student is uncertain how to cope with the army of cutlery at dinner, he has only to watch what utensil the tutor selects, (and he will make a point of picking this up casually as soon as the food is put before him), to save future embarrassment. By "living together" with the tutor, the student may feel himself better able to approach him and ask more intimate questions should this be necessary. Included in the course are discussions and talks on life in Britain, visits to places of interest, film shows, and shopping expeditions. The courses are

---

(1) Op. cit., p.3.

held in various student hostels, and the student had to pay only 10/- registration fee (deductable from board and lodging costs), board and lodging for the 3-4 day duration of the course, and incidental expenses such as fares. These courses are available to all full-time students, not only those officially sponsored or recommended. It is clear that all this assistance proves of immense help to those students who take advantage of it; but it is completely voluntary, and the students' own inclinations decide whether they will use this opportunity. Unofficially there may be doubt as to whether the students who really need guidance ever come for it; it is likely that only those sufficiently interested in, and anxious to adapt themselves to, their new social environment, will make the effort to join introduction courses - and these would probably have got on well in Britain anyway.

The social activities at the British Council's Centre for Overseas Students mean that such a student need never feel lonely in London. Especially noteworthy are the Sunday programmes (a day of the week when a student of whatever nationality may feel intensely isolated in a great city). These include talks, films, Brains Trusts and feature programmes - a few examples from the programme for the Spring Term 1964 include:-

A Brains Trust on "The Press".
Film: "The Lady Killers."
Sir Douglas Logan, (Principal of the University of London) speaking on "The University of London."
Ballet: a lecture by Mrs. Angela Ellis and members of the Ballet Rambert.
A student concert produced and introduced by Eric Crowther.

Subjects are deliberately kept away from heatedly disputative themes (in any case, the programme has to be arranged well in advance, so it would be impossible to incorporate very topical matters); the purpose of the meetings is a friendly, though lively, exchange of views. In consequence, the especially political or nationalistic student may find the programme too tame for his liking. Again, because the British Council is Government-sponsored, students have said they felt they might be indoctrinated, or, through its influence, not be free to express their views. J. E. T. Eldridge, in an investigation undertaken among overseas students at Leicester

University (1), has also discovered mistrust of the British Council's functions and endeavours. His students found too much emphasis placed upon British tradition, giving a feeling that it is superior. Students who use British Council facilities become regarded as an elite, educated in "U" manners, which students seem rarely to encounter in daily life. Extreme views on the British Council are voiced by students who imagined its officials to be "spying" on students' activities, and reporting on them to the Government. Because it is financed by the Government, it is regarded as a "propaganda machine", staffed to civil servants. One Nigerian student even referred to "the dangerous influence of the British Council". The inevitable official backing of the British Council, then, may be its greatest weakness, so that it appeals chiefly to the social, internationally-inclined student, who would probably have integrated well in Britain anyway, missing the self-isolating proud nationalist, politically-oriented, and the uncertain, shy new arrival, who most need help and reassurance to make their stay worthwhile. It is interesting that an Indian student told me that he would advise only one type of boy to come to England for education, namely the extrovert, the "good mixer", as he would benefit most from the experience. The fact that the British Council is especially <u>for</u> overseas students can antagonise some - they are immediately wary of being patronised. Here the student unions can be useful in easing social tensions, for here both native and overseas students meet on an equal footing.

<u>Academic unpreparedness</u>:

Quite apart from difficulties of social adjustment, the newly-arrived Indian student is faced with adaptation to the demands of a new educational framework. The language is a major difficulty; although, obviously, he knows English, he is not used to hearing the English accent constantly in lectures, tutorials and seminars, and this coupled with speed of speech and strange idiomatic phrases, may prove too much for him. As Eldridge points out, (2) this entails extra work, to keep up with the English students. Lack of ease in handling English may also limit the Indian student's social relationships.

---

(1) J. E. T. Eldridge, 1960. p.50.

(2) Ibid., p.53.

In my own fieldwork experience, students have told me that they found educational standards higher than those at home, and because of this they found unexpected difficulty. One student said of his experiences at home:

> "As long as you have a good memory, you are all right for examinations....over here, although a good memory is, no doubt, an advantage, more is expected of you; you have to write some original thoughts about things, as well as know what others have said."

It is obvious that not every Indian University prepares a student for the intellectual discipline he will experience in Britain.

As I have indicated earlier, Margaret Cormack points out (1) that very many Indian students are of a very much younger age than University undergraduates in Britain. She says:

> "...many Indian students have had less exposure to studies and to life than Western students - they often enter the university at 14 or 15, immature in years and scholarship....Some universities have set a minimum age, at 15½ or 16...."

When considering the doctrinaire, stereotyped methods of Indian undergraduate education, and their inadequate preparation for the freer, intellectually stimulating atmosphere of Western universities, this age factor must always be borne in mind. Margaret Cormack suggests a longer secondary education, with graduation from it at 17 or 18; this would help to make University entrance more selective, and the chosen students would be more mature to cope with university and intellectual discipline. The position of the undergraduate at present is awkward; he wishes to think for himself, while his teachers try to give him the guidance he should be having in secondary schools: finally, he may just give up the struggle -

> "A young man bitterly commented, 'No, I can't argue with a professor - not even here at Jadavpur. I want to graduate.' And another said, 'I sometimes blindly agree - to please them. It's the easiest way.'" (2)

---

(1) Margaret Cormack; 1961. p. 191.
(2) Ibid., p.82.

Professor Shils has outlined some of the weaknesses of the Indian University system; (1); he suggests that many of the students are working in fields chosen for them; not in those to which their own inclinations would lead them, this inevitably leads to a lack of devotion to studies, and is accentuated by a depressing sparseness of opportunity for the rising young intellectual. In this connection it is worthwhile referring to Case Study 1 (see Ch.III), in which the student, after arrival in Britain, not only changed the subject chosen for him by his family, but also the Faculty, after which he was successful in obtaining his degree. This selection of the student's field for him seems to be intrinsically dangerous; yet I have frequently heard Indian fathers of bright children who have actually received all their education in Britain express the wish that their son or daughter will take up medicine, or some other high-prestige profession in India. Whether the child will be sufficiently strong-willed later on to follow his own bent is a matter of doubt; but he will have more opportunity of doing so in Britain, where he can make his own way by means of scholarships, than in India, where his family must finance him, at least for the early years of his University career, thus having an economic stranglehold over him.

The poverty of the Indian university lecturer, as compared with many other professionals, cannot be an encouragement to his students to emulate or respect him. Paucity of library facilities, and lack of money for easy purchase of books and journals, also militate against stimulation of a student's intellectual judgment. Indian universities and colleges, with some honourable exceptions, are basically non-creative, obsessed by cramming for examinations, instead of encouraging students to branch out in independent thinking on their own behalf. This, of course, may be a legacy of the British Administration: although not denied education, Indians were trained to receive and execute orders, not to give the orders themselves. Postgraduate research after Ph.D. is rare.

Literary, political and scientific standards are those of the world, not of India itself. In other words, as Professor Shils puts it (2), India is not yet intellectually independent, and Western marks of approbation, from the Nobel prize to reviews of Indian books in Western newspapers and journals,

---

(1) E. A. Shils, 1961. p.25.

(2) Ibid., p.73 ff.

are worth much more than those of India. Intellectually, then, the Indian student is West-oriented, and the ambitious desire the experience of Western education. That it takes them some time to develop a lively and constructive mind is clear from the experiences of English students writing theses, who, when they have told Indian postgraduate friends that they intend defending their own theory against that of their supervisors in the thesis, have had the response: "Oh, but you can't do that! You'll never get your thesis accepted!" The student who feels he must slavishly follow his teacher's opinions in order to pass an examination is never going to oil the wheels of his own thought.

Professor D. D. Karve (1) even goes so far as to say that students would not pay attention to a lecturer who propounds new and intellectually exciting ideas, off the track of the set books for examinations. The students study their set books, do their set experiments, and no more - they simply fulfil examination requirements. This selective study, even at high educational levels, is quite common. Practices such as cramming, the use of student "guides" and "notes" and "prepared model answers" to popular questions, intensive private coaching, are condemned by Professor Karve as stifling curiosity and a deeper understanding of the subject. Of course, many English undergraduates also try to get away with this sort of work, but whereas it is acceptable in India, it is not sufficient proof of achievement in Britain, and would not be enough even in the higher forms of the schools. A. K. Singh (2) quotes one student as saying:

> "In India, a student is given credit if he is
> merely able to memorise a number of quotations.
> Here the teacher would judge him by what he writes
> after these quotations, how he interprets them...."

Singh says of such students (3) : "They found the demands of the British universities not only higher but also of a different nature."

The student-teacher relationship is good, on the whole, and I have been given glowing accounts by Indian students of assistance and advice freely

---

(1) D. D. Karve, 1963. pp. 263-284.
(2) A. K. Singh, 1963. p.104.
(3) Ibid, p.104.

given by University supervisors in time of need. They seem to be well aware of the overseas students' particular difficulties. One student who had had to leave college owing to serious illness gave me this account:

> "During my time at College, however, I had made many friends, both among students and staff....My own tutor even came to see me the very day I entered the sanatorium, and from then on the lecturers took it in turns to visit me, so that I never felt lonely."

The emotional void that might have affected the work of another student forced to leave his family at home was partially filled by a warm relationship with his supervisor's family:

> "He liked the staff of his College, and got on well with them as friends.....He has spent a great deal of time in the home of his supervisor, who has a small boy and girl, and A., "being a father and a psychologist", knows how to deal with them. He always arrives with his pockets crammed with chocolates, and the little boy is continually asking: 'Why can't Uncle A. stay in my house?' These children give him great pleasure, and replace to some extent his own, of whom he is very fond, and has missed a great deal."

Since there is a great difference between the degrees of M.A. and Ph.D. in India, it is a matter of concern to a student as to which course he will be admitted to in Britain. Many are faced with a qualifying examination for transference from M.A. to Ph.D., and this is a period of strain. One senior student told A. K. Singh:

> "If I go back with a Master's degree people would say that I was given a consolation degree because of my age and for the trouble and expenses involved in travelling six thousand miles...." (1)

These feelings of anxiety can affect the relationship of the Indian student with his supervisor, which, in any case, following the Indian model, tends to be respectful and submissive; (the more liberal and free educational

---

(1) Op. cit. p.105.

system of the West has affected Indian students in the United States as well) (1). The student may fear to disagree with his tutor's theories, and to voice his own opinion, in case he is not recommended for transfer to the Ph.D. course; yet his attitude may have just the result he dreads in Britain, as the tutor may not class his intelligence as sufficiently live and aggressive for the transfer. A student who is used to authoritative guidance on what to think from his teachers, may feel lost and very unsure of himself in the new academic environment:

> "Everyone here is so vague and uncertain. Here one is expected to find one's own way with one's own efforts. The teachers are very helpful and friendly, but in other respects. They seem to regard it as bad taste to dictate or even direct or guide the students." (2)

Such are the main initial academic difficulties faced by the Indian student when he starts his course of study.

Accommodation Difficulties

Another immediate problem is that of accommodation, and here there are official bureaux waiting to help him, as aforementioned, such as the British Council, the University or College Lodgings Bureaux, who can can also supply lists of helpful agents.

In the preceding chapter I suggested that the British distinguish between coloured groups, and nowhere is this more clearly shown than in a breakdown of figures collected by the University of London Lodgings Bureau in 1962 in an analysis of the stated preferences of the personally inspected householders on the register. Only 8.5% of the 3,405 lodgings would accept any nationality without distinction; another 14.8% accepted some Asians or Africans, making a grand total of 23.3% who would take coloured students of some kind. An examination of this 23.3% reveals that there is an increase of prejudice passing from light to dark across the colour spectrum. Of 795 householders who went so far as to consider coloured students, 414 would not

---

(1) Richard D. Lambert and Marvin Bressler, 1956. p. 42 ff.

(2) A. K. Singh, 1963, p.106.

accept negroes; 179 would have no Indians/Pakistanis; 170 no Chinese, and 167 no Middle East. The great divide is obviously between negroes and the other coloured peoples; among the latter increasing colour prejudice according to darkening skin is shown but to a scarcely noticeable degree.(1) Unfortunately in 1962 it appeared that the number of householders prepared to take Asian or African students was lessening, due to changes of mind on the part of landladies; 213 houses were lost for Asians or Africans, and only 100 gained, a net loss of 113. It is possible that some of these were only temporary changes; householders willing to accept coloured students were so valuable that they seldom got anybody else for years, resulting in the plea: "Could I have an English boy, do you think, for a couple of years? I've never had one." The above figures show that prejudice on grounds of colour can make room-hunting a much greater ordeal for the Indian student than for the white, and, in addition to this, in the matter of accommodation, the Indian student commonly creates obstacles for himself. From a breakdown of lodgings requirements of 20 Indian students chosen at random, in the session 1962-63, it emerged that 14 wished to live preferably within walking distance of College, or, at least not more than 2-3 bus or tube stops from it. Of the remaining six, one was a third year B.Sc.(Eng.) student at Woolwich Polytechnic, who wished to live in Hendon; one was a third year M.A. student at University College who wished for a room in Hampstead, with cooking facilities, for £2 per week (an unrealistic demand from one in his third year in London); the third was in his first year of postgraduate work at Imperial College, South Kensington: he wanted a room in Wimbledon where all his meals (except lunch) would be provided, for £4 per week, as he wished to concentrate on his studies; the same reason was given by a third year post-graduate at Chelsea College who wanted a similar room at the same price in South-West London, South of the Thames. The fifth and sixth students were friends, and wished to live together; they wanted separate rooms, preferably in the same house, in Hampstead or Golders Green. One was in his first year B.Sc.(Eng.) at West Ham College, the other was in his second year B.Sc.(Eng.)

---

(1) It is interesting that only 53.7% of householders would accept women students, while 84.8% took men. In 1969-70 the proportion refusing women rose to 65%.

at Imperial College. They wanted rooms with partial board (1) for £4 per week, an impossible demand in the areas requested, where single rooms having merely cooking facilities can fetch this price, and more. Students wishing to live near their colleges in central London can be equally unrealistic, requesting rooms at £2-5-0/£2-10-0. Those on official scholarships, however, should be able always to afford the standard costs of accommodation, as their grants are allotted accordingly. They may, however, try to cut down on living costs in order to save up for Continental holidays, presents to take home, girlfriends, clothes, and luxury goods for their own use here, such as tape-recorders, record players, etc. Lambert and Bressler record the gradual purchase of such goods among Indian students in U.S. universities too. (2)

Because so many of the Indians are postgraduates and mature students, they are reluctant to share rooms, except with a relative or a very close friend from their own part of India. (3) Even if a flat is taken, separate bedrooms are regarded as essential, and the sitting-room will be dispensed with so that it can be turned into a bedroom. New arrivals generally do their best to get into University hostels; though, if there is a choice between a shared hostel room and a single room in private "digs", there is a tussle between preference and inclination. Usually the hostel wins, as it will be centrally heated, near College, and there is always the chance of getting a single room as soon as one is available, if the student makes his wishes known. Another essential perquisite is hot and cold water in the room; accommodation, however convenient, may be rejected solely because this is lacking.

To obtain desirable rooms, students will call on friends, generally from the same area of India, for assistance; this results in clusterings of students of similar origin in certain areas, or, even more narrowly, in certain houses. The working of a student's friendship set in this respect will be examined fully in the following chapter. Lambert and Bressler have found a similar tendency towards clustering among students in Philadelphia.

---

(1) Partial board implies the provision of breakfast and evening meal on weekdays, and full board at weekends.
(2) Richard D. Lambert, and Marvin Bressler, 1956. p.19 and pp.22-23.
(3) See also R. H. Desai, 1962, p. 102.

Here there was an Indian population of only about 54 (including Pakistanis and Ceylonese), of which 19 were at the University of Pennsylvania, while others were students at non-university colleges and were employed in semi-permanent jobs with various firms. All the University students lived near the campus, in three main residential groups; the co-residence patterns reflected the friendship groups formed. The hub of the Indian student community, although farthest from the University (three blocks away), was a house where all the tenants were Gujaratis, although only one of them was a University student. Even so, the students tended to gather here, as being a centre of Indian culture and social habits, and the house was popularly known as the "Gujrati Hotel" (1). It is interesting that, out of a population of only 54, when there were enough Indians from one area of origin to form a concentration, they did so, regardless of whether all had in common the same University background or not. Lambert and Bressler point out that the other two residential groupings of Indian students in Philadelphia were heterogenous as to area of origin, religion, and caste - the binding force between them was physical proximity and shared experience. Considering that the total Indian population was only 54, the surprising thing is rather that such an enduring Gujarati nucleus grew, than that no other regionally-based cliques formed. The scope for these is obviously much wider in London, where the lowest number of Indian University students during the period 1947-1968 was 352 (in the session 1950-51).

Independence is greatly valued by the Indian student who is in private "digs". Favourites are those houses whose owners do not reside on the premises, even though such houses may be dirtier and more dilapidated than those which are homes for their owners as well as the tenants. If the householder lives in the house, it is preferable for him to be non-interfering, looking on a tenant's room as his home, and not insisting on right of entry. As the students prefer their rooms to be cleaned for them, they may have to put up with the inconvenience of having a landlady or charlady coming round for this purpose each day. It is often necessary to warn new arrivals that they should be prepared at least to make their own beds, keep the room tidy,

---

(1) Richard D. Lambert and Marvin Bressler, 1956. p.25.

and make laundry arrangements, as these things are not always attended to by the landlady, and their neglect may cause unpleasantness. That the Indian students expect a degree of independence is to be expected, since most are postgraduate, and mature students. One student said:

> "I have never taken lodgings where meals are provided - only rooms with cooking facilities; I feel freer that way. I prefer English or Continental landladies. I think English people keep the best houses, but there are more restrictions - I may have to return to my room very late, or even be out all night - these things they dislike. I stayed for some time with an old lady in South Kensington - she stipulated that I should have only one guest in my room at a time.....I think it is the foreigners in Britain who chiefly "swindle" other overseas visitors here, perhaps because of the high mortgage rates they have to pay on their houses. They will take anyone who will pay their price, which the English won't do; and the foreign student who meets with refusal after refusal from English landladies, has no choice but to accept their accommodation, although it is scarcely worth half the price."

The following excerpt from the diary of a South Indian student, written nearly one year after arrival in Britain, during which time he had experienced life in both an English and an Indian hostel, and in a private guest house, indicates the type of accommodation the majority of Indian students find satisfactory. He describes newly found accommodation, obtained through a Madrasi friend already resident in the house:

> "A fairly spacious room with electric cooker and H & C water and a nice bed - room overlooking the square and "Carreras" the Craven A cigarette factory. The house itself has a small back garden with a good collection of flowering plants. The landlady a burlesque Austrian, with no teeth in her mouth and a childish loud laughter, ably assisted by her consort.... The furnishing in the room though confortable is not too modern or posh. The room though fully carpeted, the carpet is not new. I overlooked all that because it is fairly comfortable when all things are taken into consideration - two guineas per week - only a ten-minute ride to College or Varsity - good bathroom with a large tub, bath being

> included in the rent. The whole place is quiet each being completely left to himself - minding one's business in the literal sense."

It is unfortunate that Indian students who wish to live with English families, so as really to learn something at first hand about the country and the people, cannot always be satisfied. Often they find it easier to get accommodation with Continental landladies; and they will invariably refuse to stay in Indian or Pakistani, and especially African or West Indian, houses, unless they are personally recommended by friends from their own area of India. One student, when questioned about this, responded:

> "I have not myself lived in any Indian or African lodging houses; I have never found any suitable. Indians do not keep their houses clean, especially the windows....the Indians who come to Britain and buy houses here are mainly working class, who have never owned houses in India, and have no idea how to look after them when they do own them."

Students who find good English "digs" are always quick to express their appreciation, and often establish warm relationships with their landladies, even when living in the relatively impersonal atmosphere of hotels and guest houses. A student who was doing this said:

> "My English landlady is very kind; we are both satisfied with each other. She is sad to see me going home, and although I've promised the room to a friend who, as I've told her, is as nice as I am, she is convinced he can never be!"

Another student's account showed how a family relationship could be built up, with a bit of effort on both sides, even when the student stayed independently and cooked for himself:

> "I obtained help again from the Lodgings Bureau, and got a room with the use of my landlady's kitchen, in Balham. This house was a real home from home. My landlady offered me the use of any items of food in her kitchen that I might fancy; she would be hurt if I did not make use of them,

> so occasionally I took an egg or two.....On Saturdays and Sundays, when she cooked lunch for the family, she liked me to take it with them.... I left this house to go into the college hostel... when I left I felt like crying; it was almost like leaving home---one's own mother, and my landlady did actually cry."

Although many students do make the effort needed to find good "digs" and understand British ways of life more fully thereby, it is easy for a student to relax his attempts and withdraw into a bed-sittingroom, preferably in a house with friends from his own part of India, or near them, and possibly found for him by them. His social life will then become more and more centred on them. A Malayali student who had moved into a lodging house in Camden Town at the suggestion of a fellow-Malayali, then had moved away to be nearer his work, and finally gone back to the first house to please another Malayali friend, told me some time later:

> "It used to be very nice there; we were all Malayalis. Then a Punjabi took a room, and gradually, as my friends left, more of his Punjabi friends moved in. Now I am the only one there who is not Punjabi, and I am looking for another place. They make me feel an interloper, and I know they want my room for another of their friends. It makes me feel very uncomfortable, and frightened sometimes."

Such students will meet English people informally only occasionally, at such times as Christmas, when a family may invite one or two foreign students for dinner, introduced through an organisation; and even this contact is artificial, as they are not real "friends". Students say they can never feel natural on such occasions; they have to be on their best behaviour. One student described such a trip in his diary as follows:

> "Today I have to go to Purley in Surrey for Christmas hospitality at the L's - something though good in itself, not very much liked by me for obvious reasons of differences in customs and manners and the consequent artificiality and formality which one has to put up with....At the L's there was another guest for Christmas, an African

> medical student. The usual Christmas dinner with fancy caps and crackers and turkey and pudding with sixpenny coins....After dinner time had to be spent somehow - some games were played and then talked on various topics. The African going on and on in his monotonous way to tell us how they are faring in Nigeria - not a very happy thing to hear on a Christmas afternoon....I was given a Christmas present in a box which contained a few nuts and toffees, two handkerchiefs, a valet (sic - wallet?) with a one pound note in it. Never expected this - created a sort of embarassment within. Was not as free and at home as with the A's". (The A's were English friends of his family in India, whom he visited after their retirement to Britain).

Lambert and Bressler found that Indian students also accept invitations to dine in American homes, but they point out that these visits are necessarily selective, and, possibly, untypical. (1) The students are unable to enter into American family life sufficiently to observe the "real" family relationships operating beneath the surface. (2) The formality and lack of emotion which most students report they find in Western family life may really be the polite facade adopted by a family anxious to make a "good impression" on its visitors, especially foreign ones.

Sponsored Social Relationships

Many students attend organised social gatherings, sponsored by religious groups, student organisations, Rotary clubs, etc. Although these are enjoyed, and attended as a means of mixing internationally, the contacts made are superficial; and, while the kindness of the organisers is appreciated, there seems to be an underlying suspicion that they are really putting themselves out to be nice. This can best be illustrated by excerpts from the diary of a Christian student who attended several such functions when newly-arrived:

> "Methodist Social at 5.30 p.m.....The social was well-organised. As soon as we went in there was warm welcome at the entrance, directing us upstairs. Then another hearty shake hand by Miss Porter, who in turn introduced us to Rev. H. and wife who were the chiefs of the evening..... The buffet dinner was good. There was plenty to eat, though in small bits it kept coming. The evening was pleasant one when it settled."

---

(1) Richard D. Lambert and Marvin Bressler, 1956. pp. 52-53.
(2) Ibid. p. 57.

> "We had to go to Egham where a van was waiting to take us to Cumberland Lodge about 3½ miles away... At the door we were met by an elderly lady who asked for each one's name and gave a hearty handshake with the typical smile which soon lost its meaning when I spied her peeping in with a schoolmistress' expression when catching culprits, through the narrow opening of the door. Another lady checked our names and showed us the rooms allotted. She particularly asked how I pronounced my name....More arrived by the later train. In the meanwhile Miss B. the elderly lady who shook hands with us was very much in evidence waving the list of names and other sheets of paper and talking and talking over silly things with the secretary of our association, with a firm conviction that everything would go to pieces if she herself personally did not exert every ounce of her energy...."

The second of the visits described above took place nearly one year after the first, and it is clear from the tone of the passage that disillusionment with organised social occasions for overseas students has set in, however good the intentions behind them may be. This same student represented London at a World Student Christian Fellowship conference in Paris, on problems of foreign students during their period of study away from home:

> "I was amazed by the same problems and difficulties being enumerated. Before leaving I had asked four boys from India what they thought about their experiences - and their answers and my experiences and the answers I received now had quite a large common area. Roughly the difficulty amounted to the desirability to establish strong personal contacts - loneliness, problems of sex which arise from loneliness were stressed particularly by Oxford."

In the conference itself the problem of loneliness and how best to overcome it was discussed:

> "We from England pointed out the inability of foreign students to establish real fellowships with S.C.M.s in U.K., and asked for exploring ways and means of real and intimate personal contacts. It was suggested that the Churches should be in touch with each other and should shew concern for the members now in foreign

> lands; it was also suggested that S.C.M.s should arrange to establish friendships even before a student left his country.....It was strongly pointed out that lack of the right kind of friendship is leading Christian students into forming undesirable friendships and alliances which are to be viewed with grave concern."

It is interesting to note that the U.K. delegation were surprised at the extent of nationalism among Christian organisations in certain European countries, as opposed to their British counterparts:

> "The Indonesians have their S.C.M. in Holland functioning separately from the Netherlands S.C.M.; so also the Malaysians have their S.C.M. functioning as a separate unit in Paris. This, in principle, was not acceptable to several members - including the U.K. delegation."

A Moslem student whom I interviewed was particularly impressed by the social work done for foreign students in London by the Christian churches:

> "I have attended a Christian Missionary Organisation in Bedford Place, recommended to me by the past secretary of my department at College....I was part of a holiday group in North Wales organised by this organisation; it was composed of students of different countries and religions, and I greatly enjoyed it, and would like to have a holiday with them again....I appreciate the work done for visiting students by the Christian associations very much....."

Even so, most of the Indian student's social contacts are made through his College and University. Their stay in Britain is College-centred, and work is given primary importance in most cases; they rarely stray far from College for their amusements, either. Of course, this is partly due to there being less likelihood of encountering colour prejudice in that milieu, and partly because less effort is needed to find the entertainment. The assortment of student societies in which the Indian student may be interested can be judged from the quotation below:

> "I attended a meeting of the Socialist Society, and of the Humanist Society, but I can't be called a member, as I only attend when a meeting promises to be interesting. I have joined the Scottish Dancing Society, which I much enjoy.... I just saw the dancing, found out what it was, and went in and joined them. I attended a meeting of the Islamic Society recently; this is not primarily a religious society, but is cultural and social. I was not a member during my first year - I may leave again next year, unless they really press me for my 5/-, in which case I shall probably continue membership.....I also attended a meeting of the Unitarian Society and liked it; I go there now. I addressed them recently, on Christianity and Islam. My talk went off well, with many questions at the end. I like the Unitarians; they seem very broadminded, a quality which generally decreases the more religious one gets."

Individual social contacts are also made through College, even when a student does not trouble to contact societies or clubs:

> "I am on friendly terms with my professor's secretary, and we have been out to dinner together occasionally, though it was all strictly platonic. I am on joking, free terms with three or four secretaries at my College, so much so that lately, since I have smartened and brightened up after the completion of my thesis, they joke with me about taking another wife, and offer themselves en bloc...."

A student whose family had had long connections with Britain and the British, who had relatives serving now in the Indian Administrative Service and also when it was called ICS in the days of the British Raj, found he needed no clubs to facilitate his social contacts, although even he tended to confine his activities to a University context:

> "I am very fond of dancing, swimming and tennis, and I like this country because there are plenty of opportunities to pursue these interests..... I belong to no clubs at all, either within the University or outside; I am only a member of NUS and the Institute of Cost Accountancy. I go dancing only within the University, not to the dancehalls outside; all my friendship contacts are University ones, and therefore easily made."

Still other students find themselves caught up in the administration of student societies, to the almost total exclusion of their studies; this sometimes happens if they are not suited to academic life, and are only at University for their parents' sake. One such gave up his studies after his father's death, and is now in restaurant and hotel management. He is a fine administrator, as can be seen from his account of his services to the students' unions:

> "I saw some vacancies on the Union Committee advertised at the end of the year, so I thought I'd learn something, and have a try for Treasurer. For this I needed a proposer and seconder, and 6 guarantors - I canvassed people in my class who didn't have much interest in Union affairs..... To my amazement, I was elected by 1 vote. I knew nothing of Union procedure....however, I got going, made strict regulations regarding the drawing out of money, and some changes in the system----in general everything was tightened up----and so I became known. I organised the Overseas Students' Association. The following year I stood for President; there was a record poll of 56%, and I received 357 votes, my rivals getting 35 and 37 votes each....Recently I was unanimously elected President of the newly formed LUTEC at a mass meeting of the Presidents of the London Technical Colleges. I am also organising the big International Students Ball to be held in London in May. I am really on too many committees - but there is nothing wrong with life at the moment---- apart from work!"

It is clear that the gains of an Indian student during his studies in Britain are not necessarily purely academic.

Girlfriends

Most students found that Western women (by no means invariably British) were readier to become friendly with them than Western men were. One student interpreted this problem in this way:

> "I also appreciate the free intermingling of the sexes - I would like to point out a difference between the Indian social system and the British in this respect. In India boys may form a very

> close friendship, and accompany each other everywhere, whereas in this country it would be thought unnatural for a boy not to have a girlfriend to take out at weekends. Because of this, it is more difficult to form friendships with English boys, as their free time is spent with their girlfriends, whereas on the other hand, it is very much easier to become friendly with an English girl, for the very same reason."

Lurid stories reaching India of the sexual freedom to be found in the West whet the appetites of prospective students and alarm their families. It is unlikely that many of these accounts are true; but that they are believed can be damaging. A. K. Singh quotes one student as saying:

> "Many Indian students come to this country with wild expectations of meeting girls too easily. Their friends at home and here keep on asking them about their sexual achievements. It is not surprising that some of them make fools of themselves by their sex-obsessed attitudes to all Western girls and offend friendly girls of good families and upbringing." (1)

There is often complete misunderstanding of the girlfriend/boyfriend relationship, of hand-holding, petting, the goodnight kiss, etc. It is assumed that all these practices inevitably lead to sexual union. This is understandable when one realises that the first kiss in an Indian film, in spite of the huge scope of that industry, has still to be screened. Its implication is full sexual consummation of a relationship - Gustav Jahoda found during his research among Africans of the Gold Coast that the same interpretation was placed on petting as shown in Western films by them, too. (2) Considering how often petting can be seen in public, leave alone at the cinema, in Britain, there is no wonder that tales of the sexual laxity of Western women get spread abroad. Because of this, well-intentioned helpfulness is sometimes misinterpreted; an English woman graduate described how she was asked the way by an Indian student in the street - spontaneously, as she was going in the same direction, she said: "Come with me, I'm going that way, I'll show you." She was not only astonished but alarmed, on reaching the house he

---

(1) A. K. Singh, 1963. p.69.
(2) G. Jahoda, 1961. p.105.

wanted, to find that he had assumed she would go in and sleep with him because she had so readily walked and chatted with him. Although she has several Indian acquaintances and personal friends, she was moved to say: "I'll think twice before directing a strange Indian again!" (1)

The great majority of students have girlfriends during their stay in Britain, and some contemplate marriage, although here they are liable to meet opposition from the girl's family:

> "While at College I attended college dances, and at one of these met an English girl, also training to be a teacher, to whom I later became engaged. After completing my course, I obtained a post in Hull, because my fiancee also had a post there, and some members of her family lived there....It was my intention to marry this girl, and then return to India with her. Her mother, however, did not like me; though I tried my hardest to please her, I was unsuccessful."

A more fortunate student expressed the problem this way:

> "I am practically engaged to a girl studying at LSE. Her father has a Ph.D. in education, and the family have fully accepted me as a prospective son-in-law. I would always insist on this, if I were to marry an English girl; I feel inferior to no-one, and therefore do not understand why I should not be desirable as a son-in-law. If I weren't accepted like this by a girl's family, I would not marry the girl, even though I loved her."

Another student, a farmer's son, coming from a traditional North Indian joint family, studied in London for two years without having any social contact with women, as he did not know how to behave towards them. It was only after he became involved in Students Union affairs that his reserve broke down; because of his official duties he had to go to dances and receptions, and learn how to meet people. At this time he developed free and

---

(1) A. K. Singh, 1963. p.68, states that he found students reluctant to speak of their relationships with members of the opposite sex, and even offended by questions on this subject. I can only record that students have readily volunteered information on such matters to me, nor was it exaggerated or boastful, as I have found by cross-checking their statements.

easy social relationships with many women, both Indian and Western. He had a German girlfriend, who was anxious to marry him, and wrote long affectionate letters to him after her return to Germany. Of her he said: "I thought she would not be a suitable intellectual companion, although thoroughly satisfactory to be my wife in all other respects." Eventually he met an Austrian Jewess at his College, studying Greek and Roman History, whom he married. Both left for the University of Hawaii after he completed his Ph.D., where he got a lectureship. Their ultimate intention is to live in India, but they are in no hurry to do so. Both families opposed the marriage; the wife has never met any of her husband's relatives, although her parents came to Britain to see him shortly before her father's death, and took him with them for a holiday on the Continent. The wife's father's last words to his future son-in-law were: "Perhaps some day I shall be coming to see my grandchildren in India." This the husband regarded as being his way of blessing the union.

Another student also had no close contacts with Western women until nine years after his arrival, when he became very fond of a German girl, who was in Britain to learn English, whom he met in a coffee bar. He wished to marry her, but she told him he was merely infatuated, and that anyway she was already engaged back home. He was unable to give her a house, a car, and a refrigerator immediately on marriage, she said, and so he therefore had no right to propose to her. As she had earlier given him the impression that she was very fond of him, he became extremely demoralised at this rebuff, and it was some time before he could again concentrate on working for his degree. The following year he was introduced to an English graduate, whom he married. His father approved the match, but his wife's family were fiercely opposed to it, and, indeed, it was not until two years after the marriage that he met his mother-in-law. Now, however, attitudes have completely changed, and he is judged on what he is, regardless of his nationality.

These are instances of relatively fortunate and fruitful encounters with Western women, but other students have seen the other side of the coin. One such had made several friendships with English boys and girls; they tended to go out in groups, to enjoy themselves all together. He was therefore unprepared for the following experience with an English girl student:

> "She invited me alone a few times for coffee to her room, and finally asked: "If you only want coffee, why do you come here?" I was surprised, and asked my friends what she meant; when they explained, it shocked me. She never invited me again."

It is obviously going to be difficult for a student not native to Britain to distinguish between the different approaches and expectations of women met socially, and to avoid offending either the reserved by being too demanding, or the uninhibited by appearing disinterested in their physical attraction. The relative freedom of social action enjoyed by English women as opposed to their Indian counterparts begs for misinterpretation; a Pakistani student said:

> "We tend to think of English female students as very free, because they converse and mix with men without inhibitions; but we try to go too far, and we find that their moral code is stricter than we imagined; then we start mixing with uneducated or Continental girls whom we pick up in coffee bars and such places, who will give us what we want."

A. K. Singh also found that the students resented being forced to associate with girls whom they did not consider their social equals:

> "....because of their early training and super-ego they suffered a sense of guilt which was increased by the fact that most of the girls they met were socially and educationally inferior to them. Perhaps many of them, to quote one student, were 'sales and au-pair girls'". (1)

A. T. Carey has noted that one of the problems of colonial students in London is not that they can find no girlfriends to go out with them, but that "....for the most part the women who do so are of a markedly lower social standing than their own." (2) Sheila Webster's investigation into the views of University women at Oxford on relationships with coloured male fellow-students is interesting in this respect. Although her study dealt mainly

---

(1) A. K. Singh, 1963, p.69.
(2) A. T. Carey, 1956, p.226.

with negro students, there are passing references to Indians. One woman student, whose friend was going out with an Indian, felt she was "awfully brave", and thought she would not like her parents to know of her friendship with the girl if they knew of the Indian boyfriend. (1)

This prompts us to enquire why it is that lower class and Continental girls appear readier to put aside their inhibitions and go out with coloured students. As far as lower class girls are concerned, there are the compensatory factors of increased social prestige and the possibility of a more comfortable life in the future, if she manages to marry her medical or law student, whatever his colour. The hairdresser's assistant or shop girl knows that she has scarcely any chance of marrying an English doctor or lawyer, and raising her social class in that way. The Indian student, on the other hand, used to the rigidities of the caste system, does not appreciate the subtleties of the English class system. He may not grasp the social discrepancies between himself and his girlfriend until too late - after all, to be welcomed warmly into a family home, after perhaps tolerating several instances of colour prejudice and consequent rejection, is flattering to the ego. His girlfriend probably speaks English better than he does, so he is in no position to judge her educational level by vocabulary and accent. He is too little familiar with English family life and customs to judge the social level of her relatives by these. Both material and socially prestigious gains, then, can influence lower class girls towards encouraging their acquaintance with Indian students and professional men. Continental girls working as "au pairs" in Britain are generally of middle-class social level. Like the Indian students, they are outside the British value system, their social status and that of their families is unaffected by the boyfriends they have while abroad. They, like the students, have been released from accepted social and cultural mores, and the very fact that they are strangers, and possibly also lonely, in a foreign country, draws them together into affectionate companionship. There are certain cafes and coffee bars in areas of London popular with these students, e.g. in Golders Green and Hampstead, which are well known among students and Continental girls as places where casual acquaintance may be formed without offence being taken. No girl who

---

(1) Sheila Webster, 1954? p.271.

does not want to meet a man would come alone to such coffee bars in the evening. R. H. Desai has discovered the same kind of "drawing-together" between Continental girls and Indian immigrants. He points out that both categories tend to go to the same social clubs and centres, and mix readily. However, he puts down this readiness to an absence of colour consciousness:

> "....very few of the Continental girls accept the racial attitudes prevalent in English society in their relationships with coloured persons, Indians in particular. Coming from the Continent, they do not recognise the colour bar as an acute social problem. Furthermore, being foreigners, they are sufficiently removed from English society to ignore its preoccupation with colour." (1)

To my mind, the chief reason why the Continental girls do not hesitate to associate with Indian students is contained in the last sentence of this quotation. It is not that these girls are particularly free from colour prejudice, but that the social consequences of mixing with coloured people do not affect them nearly, or their future, as they would were they at home. (This is an interesting illustration of the power of social forces in intensifying and extending colour consciousness and prejudice). I have already noted above the surprise felt by coloured students from Britain at a World Student Christian Fellowship Conference in Paris, when they discovered that discrimination on grounds of colour was countenanced in certain Continental countries even in Christian Student Associations, which would never be tolerated among students in Britain.

The temporary nature of liaisons between non-British girls and Indian students is very marked. Usually both parties realise this, even if only subconsciously; both are expatriates, meeting on neutral territory, but retaining home ties, which, though temporarily slack, must eventually tighten and draw them apart. Sometimes the affectionate companionship may grow into something deeper on one side, with unfortunate consequences - I have already described the case of a student whose studies were seriously interrupted owing to his German girlfriend's abrupt and sharp breaking-off of their friendship. Another student formed a friendship with a South African girl;

---

(1) R. H. Desai, 1963. pp.135-136.

although they became extremely fond of each other, even to the extent of sexual intercourse, both had to admit to themselves that their relationship could be only temporary, as she was determined to return to her family in South Africa, and their marriage could never be allowed there. Those Indian students I have known of who do marry Continental girls tend neither to settle on the Continent with their wives, nor to return to India with them, although the latter is more likely than the former; usually, a couple prefers to stay on in Britain after marriage, thus again avoiding possible offence to the mores of either native society by an enforced acceptance of a mixed marriage within its sphere of social interaction. Acceptance of such a marriage may cause the minimum of strain in British society, as the two parties to it, not being native to Britain, can be accepted on the level of day-to-day social intercourse, while neither receiving nor demanding a deeper relationship on the kinship level. An Indian student spoke of a relative in these terms:

> "....one of my relations has left the family circle altogether and is now living in Britain somewhere (no-one knows where) with his German wife...."

Caste: Its survival overseas, with special reference to Indian Student Society.

Brief reference will be made here to surviving influences of caste, both as a stimulating and restricting factor, on social relationships of Indian students, with a review from the same angle of some additional Indian overseas communities.

R. H. Desai has made it clear that among Gujarati immigrants caste is not forgotten, although its overt representations, e.g. economic interdependence, commensality restrictions, etc., do not function. He says:

> "Caste distinctions, however, are present and are used in the conflict between persons to gain an advantage. Thus on the one hand a Brahmin does not get the same respect from others in the United Kingdom as he would get in India. But he may use his

> superior position in the caste-hierarchy in India to be elected to an association in preference to a rival of low caste. Likewise, members of the numerically dominant agricultural caste in every linguistic-regional community support each other in the group activities which involve the whole community." (1)

There has even been a case in Birmingham where Indians in one street objected because a man of lower caste than themselves attempted to buy a house there and move in. (2) Desai makes the important point that maintenance of ties with the area of origin in India reinforces caste consciousness; for the immigrant, these ties are kept up by his village-kin group in Britain; for the student, through his regionally-based friendship set (later examined in detail). In addition, caste consciousness reinforces regional ties, for only those from a student's own area will have the means of knowing that his caste is what he says it is.

At this point we may profitably refer to further instances of caste beliefs still extant among Indian migrant communities in various countries, to complement those referred to briefly in the last chapter. Morton Klass (3) has discovered that in Trinidad caste is one of the items which helps to determine the territorial divisions of the village. The word "caste" is known and used only among the educated; the colloquial Hindi term is Jat, the English: "nation". Endogamy is preferred; if, however, a mixed marriage does take place, the children usually take the father's caste, but if the mother's is higher, they may claim membership, with possible success, depending on prosperity, behaviour, living conditions, etc. Strictly speaking, there is no strict segregation according to caste in the village; but in practice higher castes tend to congregate in the better parts in the village, lower castes in the worse. As is the tendency in India, there is greatest clustering of castes in the middle ranges of the hierarchy, the Vaishya varna, although the Sudras are the most numerous. In spite of their numerical strength, however, no Sudra holds a position of leadership in the village. Almost all the landholders are of the highest varnas. Even the

---

(1) R. H. Desai, 1963. p.15.
(2) R. H. Desai, 1960. p.44.
(3) Morton Klass, 1961. p.34 ff.

membership of the 3 cricket teams in the village is determined by caste, and they never play each other; they belong to different classes of cricket in the island, and will play other teams of the same rank from other parts of Trinidad. The praja relationship is socially very important; it appears to be a development from the traditional jajmani system of India. It is only felt one way: "up" for a poor man, "down" for a rich man. These rich are of high caste, and leaders in the village, deserving and getting respect. Although Sudras may become wealthy, for there is no caste embargo on occupation, they do not attain the respect and regard due to a rich man in the village; their advice is never sought in disputes. This is possibly because it is hard to fix them into this praja relationship; they have received sponsorship for so long, it is difficult to start giving it.

In studies on Indian people in Natal there is a marked attempt to "play down" caste and its influences, although in accounts of daily life its presence is strongly felt. According to the records, more than 80% of the immigrants were Hindu, with 60% of these Sudras, 25-30% Vaishya, 10-15% Kshatriya, and very few Brahmins. Some castes and categories of occupation were rejected as immigrants, being judged as unsuited to the labour: among these were toddy tappers, police, shopkeepers, beggars, and palanquin bearers. This parallels the situation in Fiji, where the authorities were reluctant to accept Brahmins, again on grounds of being unable to manage the work. Today it is in personal relationships that consciousness of caste remains; and here I think the distinction that Hilda Kuper (1) makes between caste practice and caste consciousness is important. We can find a parallel in the difference between racial prejudice and racial discrimination; the latter implies a formal, active working-out of fundamental and unfavourable beliefs about another ethnic group; in the former case derogatory ideas may be held without being given active expression. Among indentured Hindus in Natal the only remaining practical evidence of caste is endogamy, although hypergamy may be approved in some cases. Brahmins are usually still vegetarians, though they will interdine with other castes. Occupation is not dictated by caste, though the tendency is for high castes to go for white-collar jobs; they are also, as in Trinidad, the community leaders, though as

---

(1) Hilda Kuper, [redacted] 1960. p.30 ff.

a result, their whole caste does not rise in the community's regard, only their immediate family; it is, then, individual, not caste, success, though the individual's caste may be a factor in his personal social rise. There are no caste panchayats, and no out-casteing. Unlike India, there is fusion, rather than fission, of sub-castes; finer distinctions tend to be over-ruled. The sacred thread ceremony is still an important pre-marriage ritual among the twice-born castes; it is never carried out for the lower castes. Hilda Kuper is forced to admit that the Indian society is buttressed by "pollution" feelings, a remnant of the traditional caste system, now used to reinforce "status relationships". Birbal Rambiritch and Pierre van den Berghe have examined the caste question in Natal (1) according to the traditional criteria of caste, namely: membership by birth and for life; hierarchical ranking; commensality restrictions and dietary rules; defilement; religious sanctions and disabilities; the panchayat; occupational specialisation; use of caste names; endogamy. They maintain that only the last of these is still practised to any great extent. As indicated in the last chapter, I do not feel we can properly or fruitfully apply these traditional factors to a study of caste in an immigrant community; here it has become much more subtle in expression. Probably the best account of the functioning of caste in an immigrant community has been given by Professor Mayer in his book on Indians in Fiji.

Mayer (2) points out that necessarily the indenture system destroyed many of the overt representations of caste as practised in India. Many immigrants, too, changed their caste names in transit so as to rise in the hierarchy. The situation of the Brahmins facilitated this; they were not accepted for immigration, so many gave a false lower caste name for embarkation purposes, reverting to their original Brahmin name on arrival in Fiji; it was just as easy, therefore, for a non-Brahmin to adopt a Brahmin name, and pretend he had been Brahmin all along. Now there is no outcasteing in Fiji, but endogamy is still the norm. Should it be broken, hypergamy is regarded with less censure than hypogamy. Leaders of the community are generally of high caste, and caste stereotypes are commonly held, generally

---

(1) Birbal Rambiritch and Pierre L. van den Berghe, 1961. pp.217-224.
(2) Adrian C. Mayer, 1961. p.157 ff.

unfavourable. The fact that people are thus classified according to their caste shows a public consciousness of it. Mayer has described a society in which each individual member knows and is conscious of his caste (or that to which he aspires) and that of the men he has dealings with; until he knows them as individuals he has preconceived ideas of them through sterotypes, partially based on their caste. Caste has become more of an individual, rather than a communal, phenomenon.

H. S. Morris has examined caste influences among Hindu Indian immigrants in Uganda. There, a man's place in the community depends on what caste (if Hindu) or sect (if Muslim) he belongs to, not on his religion as a whole. As in other areas overseas, it is difficult to arrange any sort of caste hierarchy in Uganda, but as numbers of the different castes represented expanded, they formed themselves into endogamous units, termed "communities". These "communities" are the structural social units that cause the East Indian society in Uganda to function. They are not hierarchically arranged, neither do they interact together as castes traditionally do; but their leaders are the East Indians' representatives in the eyes of the larger society, and they are the patrons of their followers, in rather the same system as the praja relationship in Trinidad. The method of rising in the Indian community has changed; formerly a man achieved this by holding office in an all-India organisation; now he wins high status by means of advancement in the caste or sectarian "communities". (1)

In Mauritius, where Burton Benedict has studied the East Indian community (2), caste endogamy is still preserved, and caste is still socially and politically very important. Not only caste, but also linguistic and ethnic group endogamy is practised, and before a marriage horoscopes are consulted to see if the boy and girl are suited. Dr. Benedict describes an instance of marriage in which, at the last moment, the bride's close relatives discovered that the groom's caste was lower than theirs; there was much argument, but the wedding went forward. However, the marriage broke up in two months' time (3).

---

(1) H. S. Morris, 1956. pp.194-211.
(2) B. Benedict, 1961. p.20.
(3) Ibid., 1961. p.97.

From the above brief accounts, it can be shown that there is an important caste difference between the East Indian indentured immigrants and the Indian students in Britain; in the former, lower castes predominated, with only a sprinkling of Brahmins especially, whereas among the latter high castes are prominent. The intelligentsia in India, likewise, has representatives of higher castes in a majority. D. D. Karve says of the introduction of Western education into India:

> "....the castes and communities which took advantage of the new opportunities were those that already had a tradition of learning and study. These were, generally, the Brahmans, the Kayasthas and a few others. Other castes, with rare exceptions, did not aspire to modern education, nor were the opportunities for them plentiful." (1)

According to the Indian constitution, a certain number of University places have to be reserved for members of scheduled castes and tribes. Even so, Professor Karve points out that lower castes feared that the tradition of education that upper caste members enjoyed would give them the advantage:

> "The educationally advanced castes naturally insisted that all the non-reserved seats be filled on the basis of merit only. The educationally backward castes, however, urged that such a procedure would perpetuate the present state of affairs since the backward castes could not hold their own in competition with those who had a head start over them." (2)

Since the criterion for scholarships and places at foreign Universities is purely merit, and none are reserved for lower caste members, the upper castes benefit from their intellectual traditions, and more of their members come abroad for study. A. K. Singh, while he attempts to ignore caste differences amont the students he studied, nevertheless, he does point this out:

> "Western education opened the doors of individual social mobility on a large and unprecedented scale. It offered a new life to the people of the lower

---

(1) D. D. Karve, 1963. p.276.
(2) Ibid., p.277.

> castes, who could not even think of an alternative social life before, let alone aspiring for it. Western education was secular and they could learn it and raise themselves up to the higher social levels of the upper castes, work with them on the same jobs, or even be their superior officers. Of course, provided they had enough money to educate themselves, which unfortunately, they lacked....But Western education was within the reach of the middle class of upper and intermediate castes (jatis)." (1) (Underlining mine)

P. K. Mukhopadhyay and J. Banerjee (2) state that there are no caste, religious, economic or social barriers to college education in India; however, they analyse their representative sample of 500 students, all Hindus, in terms of caste, finding that 30% were Brahmin, 40% Kshatriya, 16% Vaishya, 14% Other. This means that 86% of students were of twice-born castes, and, indeed, 70% of the two highest - a heavy numerical weighting in their favour.

If asked straight out about their caste beliefs, most Indian students and professionals in Britain will explain that caste discrimination is now illegal in India, that they eat with all castes indiscriminately, and will not hesitate to talk with any student they may meet socially, regardless of his caste. One student, a non-Brahmin, appeared to have very strong feelings against caste discrimination, and spent ten minutes explaining to an Englishwoman the rapid changes that were taking place in thought and action in India regarding this. Finally he was told his companion was married to an Indian----immediately he shot at her: "Is he Hindu?" "Yes," was the reply. "What caste?" came the question. On being told "Brahmin", he responded that he thought so; they were always the most advanced and forward-looking.

Two Maharashtrian Brahmin students, one sitting his B.A. Finals, the other Bar-at-Law, experienced an instance of caste consciousness when speaking with a friend from the same area, but of a Vaishya caste. This student was sitting his Final Bar-at-Law examination for the third time. The two Brahmins were surprised when he said: "You're bound to pass, even though it is your first attempt." "Why?" they asked. "It's easy for you, you're Brahmins," was the reply, stated as an accepted fact, without the trace of a smile. W, a Brahmin, was introduced by his friend M, another Brahmin, to B (said to be

---

(1) A. K. Singh, 1963. pp.35-36.
(2) Prabhat K. Mukhopadhyay and J. Banerjee, 1961-62, pp.89-95.

Brahmin). Later, before a meal, W lightheartedly began to intone the sacred Mantra appropriate to the occasion; B spontaneously joined in. Such informal means of confirming caste status are obviously easy, and inoffensive, to use. It is interesting, too, that, although there had been no family contact between B and either W or M in India, the fact that he was Brahmin, (though of a different sub-caste), was considered sufficient recommendation.

A Brahmin schoolteacher, H, was living in a flat in an Indian boarding house with his English wife. Although they normally catered for themselves, on one festival he was asked to take a meal with the widowed landlady and her family, of Vaishya caste; a family who normally were anti-Brahmin in sentiment. On entry to the dining-room, the landlady bowed and touched H's feet, treating him with great ceremony throughout the meal, saying that to feed a Brahmin would bring great good fortune and prosperity to her house. At the Ganesha festival she particularly invited her only two Brahmin boarders to the family's celebrations, where they intoned the sacred Mantras. The economic status of the individuals involved is interesting in this context. The landlady owned her own large freehold house in a well-to-do area of London; her daughter was a qualified shorthand-typist, her son a qualified electrical engineer, both working. They ran a car, had television and stereophonic record-player. They had lived in Britain for eighteen years. On the other hand, the Brahmin schoolteacher was starting his career on a minimum salary, had a wife to keep, and the most modern convenience in his possession was a radio. He was in the position of tenant in the house. The other Brahmin, from East Africa, was studying part-time in Britain; the money he earned went towards fees and he was unable to pay his rent or to reimburse his landlady for phone calls made to his family in East Africa. He owed her about £60, a steadily increasing figure, and there was little likelihood of the settlement being forthcoming soon. All these factors counted as nothing, however, when it came to offering respect and reverence to Brahmins on festival days. V. S. Naipaul has described how still in Trinidad, among East Indian migrants, the custom of feeding Brahmins to gain merit can be found:

> "Still, very occasionally, some devout Hindu of the few in Port of Spain might wish to feed some brahmins. We were at hand. We went; we were fed;

> we received gifts of cloth and money. We never questioned our luck. Luck indeed it seemed, for immediately afterwards....we became ordinary boys again." (1)

Again, there is a Maharashtrian boarding house in London for students and professionals, owned by a Brahmin. Here all the tenants are always Maharashtrian, and generally all Brahmins. This is not due to a refusal to consider lower castes; tenants recommend the place to friends and relatives, even before these leave India, and the house is constantly full. This strengthens the argument that students' closest friends tend to be not only from the same area of India, but also of the same varna. These few examples indicate that caste consciousness in personal relationships is still present among Indian professionals abroad, although caste discrimination does not figure largely. Endogamy is the last vestige of it remaining. Those students married in India have invariably had their wives thoroughly vetted, if not chosen, by their families, which denotes that the women are, almost necessarily, of the same caste. (2). The criteria of caste practice as worked out by Rambiritch and van den Berghe in their above-mentioned study, cannot be usefully applied to Indians overseas. Too many of the indigenous economic, political and social underpinnings of caste practice are lacking. Manifestations of caste consciousness are more subtle, and are often not recognised as such by those who show them. (In a later chapter I shall show ties of caste can signify in faction formation in regional associations in London). Because caste practices are not in evidence, it is easy to assume

---

(1) V. S. Naipaul, 1964. p.34.

(2) If such an investigation were possible, it would be interesting to discover whether there are actually more racially mixed marriages among Indian professional people in Britain than inter-caste marriages.

A noted Gujarati liberal Brahmin, Dr. K. M. Munshi, has noted in his paper "As I Look Back - 'The Changing Social Patterns'", (Journal of the Gujarat Research Society, 1963, Vol. 25, p.282) that: "Marriages, for many decades to come, are sure to be restricted to the members of the same caste, or between children of parents whose castes have social contacts."

Even he does not see any major revolution in this aspect of the social structure in the near future.

that caste has lost its relevance; but consciousness of it, while being more difficult to perceive, is also more deeply entrenched. Robert O. Tilman has written of the situation in India:

> "....while abolishing discrimination, the Constitution itself has contributed to a new caste awareness, though perhaps on a broader geographic scale than has been known in the past." (1)

Later, he goes on to say:

> "The Indian Constitution undoubtedly gave some support to this trend by reserving seats for the 'backward classes' in the House of the People, in the legislative assemblies of the states, and in the public services...." (2)

Thus, by favouring lower castes, the higher may become even more conscious of their identity.

The "consciousness of kind" defined by Lowie (3) applies not only to those of the same nationality, but to groupings within a nation. Lowie points out that Norwegian immigrants to the United States did not fraternise with anyone of their fellow-countrymen, but deliberately sought out men from the same parish back in Norway. Mayer has found the same inclination among Sikh migrants in Vancouver. (4) Likewise, this "consciousness of kind" impels Indian students and professionals to make their closest friendships not merely with Indians, or even Indians from the same area of origin, but with those who are also of the same caste. The four varna are the significant divisions in caste consciousness in Britain; student numbers are not great enough for sub-caste divisions to be meaningful, and the absence of the obligations and privileges of the caste system in toto makes them largely irrelevant. They emerge only in private jokes, based on sub-caste stereotypes; for instance, Maharashtrian Chitpavan Brahmins have a reputation for

---

(1) Robert O. Tilman, 1963. p.211.
(2) Ibid., p.217.
(3) R. H. Lowie, 1950. p. 14-18.
(4) Adrian C. Mayer, 1959. p.5.

closefistedness, and should another Maharashtrian Brahmin call round too late for an evening meal, he may well say: "I've had my meal, so as to make sure of a good one - I didn't want to go hungry here!" In this way the sub-castes form the background to many in-group jokes, but this is the limit of their social effect.

The problem areas outlines above, i.e. finance, social and academic unpreparedness, accommodation, organised social relationships, relations with the opposite sex and remaining influences of a traditional caste-structured society, present the expatriate student with a series of choices, emotional, social, intellectual, by which he must accept, or reject, or strive to achieve an accommodative equilibrium for the conflicting traditions assailing him. Ambivalent and contradictory attitudes towards both Indian and Western culture emerge, as can be seen from quotations above.

Four types of student reaction may be isolated:

1) Accommodative adjustment. Such students have weighed up critically what both East and West have to offer, and have made their choice of the good points of each culture; they have gained something which will help them, wherever they settle ultimately. One example of this, from the case studies detailed in the next chapter, is Case 1, who, although married to a British girl, and settled in U.K., nevertheless retains a love and respect for traditional culture and learning. Case 2 is also well-adjusted; although he returned to India to marry in accordance with his mother's wishes, and remains a devout Muslim, he and his wife have subsequently settled in Britain, and adapted their way of life accordingly.

2) Rejection of Western culture. Many of these students maintain stoutly throughout their stay that India is more advanced, more developed, more humane than the West in all really important spheres, such as family feeling, female chastity, religious observance, getting a biased outlook by comparing what is best in India with what is worst in the West. They are afraid to seek out the good aspects of Western culture, just as they are intolerant of all criticism of India, however justifiable, since this would upset their judgment. Such an attitude can arise from deliberately suppressed awareness of Western superiority over India in some respects, which may produce over-sensitivity

to minor criticisms, or comments which are not intended as criticisms at all. Condemnation of the West, then, is what Lambert and Bressler call a "defensive, ego-protecting mechanism." (1) They, too, found an over-sensitivity and ambivalence towards Western culture among Indian students at the University of Pennsylvania, and say that the "Indianness" of the student directly affects his image of the U.S. (2) One solution of this ambivalence is complete rejection of cultural patterns of the new environment, a withdrawal from any form of intimate involvement, until return home when the traditional culture is activated again. Extreme cases of this kind actively reject Western society, as with the student who said:

> "I could never marry an Englishwoman; I would feel I could not trust her out of my sight; she would be smiling at some other man."

Or the young man who found the idea that the old might actually enjoy their independence, as long as they were in good health, incomprehensible:

> "But I think that it is all unnatural! And when they do get really old, they are shut up in homes specially built for the purpose, and hardly ever see their grandchildren!"

A less extreme case, one of withdrawal rather than outright rejection, is that shown in Case 3 in the following chapter. Some students will assert Indian technological superiority also:

> "In India we have an ancient iron pillar made to a special formula to prevent rust; after hundreds of years it has not rusted. With all your technological know-how in the West, you haven't achieved that."

Ancient Indian knowledge of astronomy and mathematics is also quoted in self-justification.

---

(1) Richard D. Lambert and Marvin Bressler. 1956. p.80.
(2) Ibid., p.55.

3) Rejection of Indian culture. The complete opposite to (2) above, though it can have its origin in the same difficulties. The student fails to attain a reasoned equilibrium, therefore, especially if he decides there are better opportunities in the West, and continues his career here, he abandons the Indian cultural tradition altogether and, in his efforts to identify with the West, may become "more British than the British". An example of one who has rejected his own society in this way is seen in Case 7 in Ch.III.

4) The social isolate. Finally, there is the student who loses his footing on the cliff of culture, and grabs at small tufts of Eastern and Western beliefs and customs to break his fall, none of which hold to give him enough time to find a secure niche for himself. He develops into the "eternal student", often unable to concentrate on any one degree, but constantly changing his field of study. He has many girlfriends, or does his best to attract many, but rarely takes on marriage with its responsibilities. Gradually he becomes more lonely, as his friends return to India or become involved with their careers in Britain; and as he grows older he has less and less in common with his younger fellow-students. Such is the "demoralization" referred to by Park and Miller, when they say:

> "The new situation has the nature of a crisis, and in a crisis, the individual tends either to reorganize his life positively, adopt new habits and standards to meet the new situation, or to repudiate the old habits and their restraint without reorganizing his life - which is demoralization." (1)

In addition to Cases 4 and 6 in the following chapter, which show tendencies such as these, it is worth quoting from another case study of a South Indian Roman Catholic highly-qualified lawyer, separated from his wife in India. After a stay in London lasting about three years, to get his Ph.D. in Law, he went to the Hague for 4-5 years to specialise in Comparative Law, where he obtained another doctorate. After this he preferred to return to London, although he had no prospects of a job, rather than to India. He attempted to re-contact friends made during his earlier stay, but few remained. He was

---

(1) R. E. Park and H. A. Miller, 1921. p.61.

also able to meet lecturers who had taught him previously. He joined his regional association, and through it made several new friends from his own part of India. His double doctorate gave him prestige, as did his declaration that he was here doing research financed by private means (amounting to about £400). As this sum petered out, he went on National Assistance for some time, but eventually the authorities insisted he took a job of some kind, even if it were not a lectureship, which was what he wanted. He became a clerk in the despatch section of a publishers, keeping this a close secret from his South Indian friends, for whose benefit he still posed as a full-time research student. His life was very lonely; the need to be so secretive precluded any deep friendship. When asked why he did not return to India he explained that prospective employers would ask what occupation he had been engaged in in London, and he could not admit to a mere clerk's post. He was also attempting, both in U.K. and during his stay on the Continent, to form a semi-permanent liaison with a Western woman. Initially he had felt this to be easy: "there are many spinsters or divorcées of mature age who surely would be pleased to form an attachment, since they have failed in marriage." He had heard many elaborate tales of sexual conquest from Indian friends, and, since he had no success, felt he should see a psychiatrist who would help him overcome what he thought were inhibitions arising from his Indian and Roman Catholic background. Disillusioned, he eventually decided to accept a lectureship in Delhi, on the advice of some of his South Indian friends, although the salary offered was below his expectations. In India, he said, there would be no chance of establishing a fairly permanent liaison with a woman; "and now it seems I was wrong - there is no chance of it here either!" The fact that he laid aside his aimless life, after three years of desultory study while seeking a job in London, was in part due to his membership of the regional association; it was necessary to maintain his prestige therein, in accordance with his qualifications, and he could not keep his clerk's job a secret indefinitely, or his lack of funds. At one stage he was forced to cut down on food because of shortage of money; he tried to eat in cafés his friends did not frequent. Although they entertained him, he was unable to return the compliment. Thus, his contacts with his co-regionalists

forced him to accept a post worthy of him, even though it was in India, not Britain. His standing in their eyes was important, since through their news his relations in India would judge him.

R. H. Desai discovered a similar indecisiveness among the immigrant workers he studied:

> "....in many cases departure is postponed and behaviour, if not overt statement, seems to indicate that it will be deferred indefinitely." (1)

The type of vacillation and indecision described above, leading to a gradual loosening of the ties that bind a student to India and home, and a failure in adjustment to British society, can result in wasted years and a wasted degree. Co-regionalist contacts, whether through informal friendship or within formal associations can counterbalance this by providing a constant reminder of the social expectations of the home environment, and of the responsibilities the student still owes to his family's prestige and good name, even though he moves in an individual-oriented milieu.

In this chapter I have tried to indicate the chief problems of social adaptation facing Indian students on arrival in Britain; the way in which they begin to cope with the difficulties they encounter, their different responses and reactions to the new situation with its several areas for individual choice, and the aspects of traditional social customs and beliefs which still cling, although in modified and adapted forms. I shall now pass on to an analysis of their informal social relationships in London, and their structure and methods of formation in which the points raised above have an important place. I have already suggested the influence that regional ties have upon these, and we shall see how these ties work in practice, and whether there is any functional difference in social relationships formed by this means and those arising through other contacts. Co-regionalist friendships are closely linked with the regional associations in many cases, and I shall then proceed to study the need-fulfilment and functions of these. It will be seen how such social contacts influence the students in the choices they make when coming to terms with the adjustment problems I have outlined in this chapter.

---

(1) R. H. Desai, 1963. p.12.

CHAPTER III - SOCIAL ORGANISATION I: SIGNIFICANCE AND EXTENT OF FRIENDSHIP.

"The friends thou hast, and their adoption tried,
Grapple them to thy soul with hoops of steel...."

Hamlet. Act 1 : 3.

The Indian immigrant worker, described by Dr. Desai, is usually sponsored on arrival in Britain by a relative already established, with whom he will live, and who will help him find work, if he has not already arranged for his employment. Sometimes more than one relative will be already settled in Britain. The immigrant, after saving some money, is likely to send for his wife and children, if he has them, or for a suitable girl to marry, if he has not. If he is successful in Britain, it is then his turn to sponsor another family member's migration - and so the kin-linked chain reaction proceeds. (1) The strength and social effectiveness of kinship ties is therefore still prominent among these Indian immigrants.

The social situation in which the Indian student finds himself is quite different. Few are "sponsored" by kin already in Britain, although those not on Scholarships may be financed by their families in India. While this helps to maintain ties with India, his family has little active significance in the student's social relationships in Britain. A number of the students are still single, and will not seek marriage until their return; in these cases considerations of wife and children are obviated. This is so in spite of efforts, especially by mothers, it seems, to get sons married before they leave India, firstly to escape the risk of a Western daughter-in-law, and secondly to provide an urge to return (especially if there are children). Even if a man be married before leaving India, he will often choose to leave his wife and children at home, perhaps for financial reasons, or because he fears his wife may be lonely in a flat while her husband is out all day at College.

The absence of established kin ties on his arrival forces the student to make his own friendship contacts if he is to remain a social being. It may be argued that the same situation faces any student, British or foreign,

---

(1) Now, of course, this is restricted by new immigration laws.

who leaves home for the University milieu. But although it is true that a British student must make new social contacts when he leaves home and family, he still returns for several weeks every year, his kin group is always relatively near at hand to assist in time of need, and he does not cease, by his temporary absences, to be an active and "present" member of his primary kin group. The Indian student's social field in Britain shows a great gap where his primary kin group should be. Granting the importance of kin ties in Indian social relationships, is any attempt made to supply this lack, and what is its extent? I hope to answer these queries in analyses of individual case histories below.

At this point it is wise to clarify what is implied by 'friendship' in this context. The concept, unchallengeable in its pragmatic existence, has proved singularly unamenable to sociological definition and analysis. Familiar is the term in daily use, and treacherous in its familiarity. 'Friendship' is a term which we define through our own experience and as experience is individually-oriented, so is our comprehension of 'friendship'.

Cohen has attempted a definition of the term which fits in with his analysis of friendship patterns: "those supra- and extra-kin relationships and bonds which are entered into voluntarily and/or which are culturally recognised." (1) Nonetheless he finds necessary a lengthy exegesis of the various types of relationships subsumed under the term "friendship". He isolated four major types:

1) Inalienable, which has ritual or ceremonial institution, having ties as binding as those of consanguineal kin. This type of friendship is difficult, if not impossible, to break off. Such friendships are a characteristic of maximally solidary communities, having inalienable consanguineal ties and corporate ownership of land.

2) Close, in which the emotional and social nearness approaches that of the inalienable type of friendship, but is not formally instituted, and therefore may be broken off any time without sanction. Such friendships, Cohen finds, predominate in what he terms 'solidary-fissile communities', namely, those in which relationships, though close, are not inalienable, and where solidary groupings are not the owners of land. There is physical mobility, and therefore no localization of kin groups.

---

(1) Yehudi A. Cohen, 1961. p.352.

3) Casual. This is a perfunctory, lax form of friendship, which can be withdrawn at will, not culturally recognised as forming a social category of people. The two people concerned have only a slightly intensified awareness of each other. Such friendships are found in non-nucleated societies, where the isolated nuclear family is the functionally significant unit of association.

4) Expedient. The two people concerned may be in a superordinate/subordinate relationship out of which some benefit may accrue to each. Such a relationship is not necessarily permanent. There is no religious or legal sanction, but severance, or otherwise, of such a relationship brings rewards or punishments according to the needs expressed by it. Cohen feels that it may be stretching a point to term 'friendship' the extra-kin relationships in an individuated social structure which is characterised by competitive individual attainment of wealth, no maximally solidary unit, not even the family, and individual-oriented moral responsibility. The major difference between such a society and the non-nucleated society is that in the former there develops an individuated competitive self-validation through wealth, and, with this end in view, social relationships must be used towards this end, thus giving extra-kin relationships a particular distinct quality. (1)

Of these four types, Cohen finds the first unique, while the rest tend to shade off into each other. (2) Some even seem to reach off into acquaintance, rather than friendship, though this will depend on our definition of the latter term; as Cohen defines it, no doubt the relationships he describes may all be treated as 'friendship'.

He itemises seven major functions for friendship:
a) material exchange/economic assistance; b) socio-political and emotional support; c) go-between in love affairs/marriage arrangements; d) homosexuality; e) sponsorship in rites de passage; f) mourning obligation; g) exchange of children. (3) Not all these functions are relevant to the student situation. Certainly (a) and (b) are important, as we shall see from subsequent case-studies; (they are also the most common functions of friendship in the solidary-fissile communities Cohen describes). (c) needs some

---

(1) Op. cit. p.352 ff.
(2) Ibid. p.352.
(3) Ibid. pp.372-3.

modification; among Indian students friends are not usually used as go-betweens for marriage arrangements, but they are invited to give their opinion on a proposed match - this may be formed from personal knowledge of the person concerned or the family, from hearsay, or, indeed, merely from a study of a submitted photograph. Homosexuality as a function of friendship appears rarely, although, inevitably, it does occur on occasions: I have known of only two instances of attempted development of such relationships, and the instigator was common to both these cases. Functions (e), (f), (g), have little relevance, by the very nature of the student group: mostly young, transitory (at least in intent), and either single or with wives and children left at home. Nevertheless should such a rite as marriage, or a naming-ceremony, be necessary, friends are certainly expected to take part; and in the misfortune of a death, friends liaise between the authorities in U.K. and the family at home, and may even arrange for cremation and the transporting of the ashes to India. Friends of the deceased will make great efforts to arrange and attend the funeral ceremony, and will travel many miles to do so.

Of Cohen's four types of friendship, the second, Close, approximates most nearly the Indian student's situation. This is the kind characteristic of solidary-fissile communities; and again, the functions of friendship most general in such communities are those most usual among the students too. Indeed, the chief characteristics of such communities are to be seen in the student grouping: non-inalienability of relationships, though these are close, physical mobility, and non-localization of kin groups - these last, in fact, are largely irrelevant for student socialisation in U.K.

But the functions of 'friendship' are not fully definitive of its content. The emotive factor in a particular friendship relationship is the raison d'etre of its existence in a given form between two particular individuals. Paine, who deals especially with the institution of friendship in Western society, stresses its highly personalized, autonomous nature.

Ideas of reciprocity culled from economic anthropology should be used cautiously in an analysis of friendship, for the equivalency is unique in each case. Certainly friends give each other something, but this may be quite intangible and difficult for an outsider to observe. Needs and values

of one member of the partnership are not the same as those of the other, yet both are furthered in their complementary relationship. But friendship can be distinguished from a mere bargain, since it is not "opposed roles" that are thus united. One member of the partnership, concerned with his own side of the bargain, is nevertheless also concerned with his partner's, out of friendship (1).

The Indian student becomes inevitably Westernised to a greater or lesser degree; his close-knit ascriptive kin-group is left behind, and he has to adapt the Western concept of friendship to his particular needs. Paine's analysis, then, proves most useful in this situation.

He selects the attribute of privacy as being the great distinction between group and personal relationships; this element protects the attributes of the latter relationship from outside sanctions. Such privacy is not found in 'bond friendships' - these are open to public view, and there may be a restricted choice of bond friends, and of conduct with them (2).

Paine considers the voluntary and intensely individual nature of friendship, in depth, extent, and duration:

> ".....the making and breaking of friendships in our society is largely a matter of personal choice that is beyond social control." (3)

He isolates three characteristics of friendship in our culture: 1) autonomy; 2) unpredictability; 3) terminality (the conduct and content of a friendship need not be carried beyond the founding duo.)

There are certain social relationships of middle-class culture which approach the ideal of friendship yet do not measure up to it (4). An enumeration of these will show what is <u>not</u> implied by the term 'friendship': <u>Acquaintanceship</u>. No great intimacy or confidence are involved; <u>partnerships</u>, which can be either ascribed or voluntary, but, being task-oriented, have explicit rules and standards outside friendship (there is

---

(1) Robert Paine, 1969. p.512.
(2) Ibid., pp.513-514.
(3) Ibid., p.514.
(4) Ibid., p. 515 ff.

greater 'warmth' to friendship, but liabilities too, which mean some may be hesitant to undertake it);

professional, e.g. doctor/patient, lawyer/client, priest/parishioner: such relationships are task-oriented, yet not partnerships - certain skills are required which only such a relationship can fulfil; patron-client relations: although there may be a complementary ability to grant goods and services, nevertheless an imposition of values is involved - the patron's values are accepted by the client; group fellowship: friendship may exist within and independent of organisations such as religious denominations, masonic lodges, yet a type of relationship can spring up among fellow-members, because of their common membership, which is less than friendship; relations between kin and spouses: a kinsman, or spouse, may also be a friend, Especially is this true of the higher classes of Western society, where male/female roles are not so firmly separated, and where spouses may spend much of their leisure time together, pursuing mutual interests. In our society the opposition between the two statuses of kinsman and friend is exceedingly small - "....friendships replace kin ties and friends may be intimates, all without much cultural fuss." This is interesting in view of the Indian students' use of friends as a kind of honorary kin in certain situations. Two factors in Western society may have eased this: as Paine puts it - "....our society is peculiar on two counts here: one is the emergence of friendship with so few institutional constraints; the other is the way in which the injunctions of kinship have changed, where they have not lapsed, in a direction that brings them closer to those of friendship." (1) Therefore, the students' propensity to use friends, especially, as we shall see, co-regionalist friends, to perform functions expected of kin at home, can be reinforced by the host society's blurring of distinctions between these two categories of Ego's social relationships. Firth points out that we can be selective as to how close our relationships with individual kin are going to be; they are not in our confidence on grounds of kinship alone (2), and some friends are closer than kin.

---

(1) Op. cit. p.518.

(2) R. Firth, 1956. p.44.

While this analysis of Paine's, dealing as it does with the emotive, highly-personalized, individual nature of Western friendship, is valuable at this point, it seems possible that he stresses too strongly the freedom granted by society to the individual, in the choosing of his friends. He says:

> "....friends are closely concerned with the evaluation each places on the other. Ideally, a friend is more concerned about this than he is, for example, about the evaluation other people make of his friends." (1)

Yet he follows this by quoting the old adage: "A person is judged by the friends he keeps," and admits the truth of this, arguing that this shows society's acceptance of an individual's responsibility for the choice of his friends, by whom he may be judged. Although it is true that in our own society no sanctions are socially operative to delimit, prevent, or break up friendships, there would appear to be, nonetheless, certain tacit influences at work which are generally effective in limiting the scope of individual friendship in practice. Friends of a type disapproved of by an individual's family may not be made welcome at his home, or by his other friends, thus discouraging the relationship; or, later in life, job prospects may be affected by doubtful spare-time relationships. There is also a certain 'snob appeal' in being able to quote friends of an equal, if not superior, social position; the saying: "A person is judged by the friends he keeps" has a double significance - on the one hand there is Paine's interpretation, stressing the freedom of individual choice of friends, but on the other lies the implication that it is socially advantageous to limit this, pseudo-voluntarily, and often unconsciously, if a person wishes advancement in life, or adequate adjustment in his milieu.

Such limitations to personal choice in Western friendship are equally, if not more, operative among Indian students. Later it will become evident that in most cases closest friendship ties are established with those from the same area of origin, speaking the same language, and, often, being of the

---

(1) Robert Paine, 1969. p.511.

same caste or varna. Limitations based on area of origin, religion, language, caste, operate when the Indian student forms his most intimate friendships, though the less close, shading into what Paine calls acquaintanceship, may be of a broader variety; for instance, an Indian student may ask an English companion to check his use of English in an essay, while he would not voice his financial or family difficulties to him, requesting help or advice, as he would to a co-regionalist friend.

Friendships such as are considered here are extra-kin, emotive, highly-personalized, non-permanent relationships, involving certain functions which have been described above according to Cohen's scheme, and carrying a sense of reciprocal responsibility by the individuals concerned. Such friendships, as indicated above, conform generally to certain socially-approved limitations, and vary in depth and intimacy according to certain stated factors. Though the Indian student's closest, most familiar, relationships generally turn out to be with his co-regionalists, other social contacts he makes, with varied nationalities, have to be considered. As opposed to the Indian migrant worker, who can be appointed to a team of workers, with one English-speaker as its leader and interpreter, the Indian student must have a reasonable knowledge of English. His instruction and supervision will be in English, most of his teachers will be English, and he will meet English fellow-students on equal terms. Administrative matters, both within and without the University, will be dealt with in English. The opportunities the Indian student has of broadening his social contacts beyond his country and his region within it, are many. We shall see what measure of success is achieved.

Finally I shall discuss what theoretical framework may best express the friendship sets formed by the Indian student in London, in their several aspects.

The Friendship Circle.

The diagrams accompanying the case histories are an attempt to set out the means of establishment, growth and development, and social spheres, of the friendship groups formed by Indian students in Britain. The layout of these diagrams should be first explained. Each one is centred on Ego, and works outwards from him. Those contacts within the inner ring are those

made immediately on arrival, or those which are already in existence before leaving India, to be renewed on arrival here. The lines leading out beyond this inner circle, but within the second larger one, show how the student's social contacts begin to expand after he has been in Britain 3-6 months, and how they spread and develop. Sometimes they arise out of, or are linked to his original contacts, which I will term primary contacts, those between the inner and outer rings being secondary contacts. More often, however, these secondary contacts are made by Ego himself, on his own initiative. Beyond the second ring I have designated the larger, vaguer groups with which a student may make contact; these may be certain sections of the host society, or his own regional group in general - none of these individuals may stand out as being in a particular friendship relationship to Ego, but they know him and he them as members of a group; in other words, we are led out into the field of social acquaintances. The diagrams do not show development of friendship contacts along a time-scale; they show rather the types of relationship a student may already have here on arrival, and the nature of the extension of his circle during his stay.

Those of Ego's friends who know each other are linked in the diagram with dotted lines. If more than one friend be made through one agency, e.g. University or religious organisation, the plural number is denoted by a forked line, as ———{ . This does not mean that three friends precisely were made, but merely that there were more than one. Abbreviations have been used in places to indicate type of friend; most of these are, I think, self-explanatory. Where 'College' is used rather than 'University', this denotes a Teachers' Training College or Polytechnic unrecognised by the University. Where I have written 'Indian friend' or simply 'Ind.' within the inner circle, as a primary contact, this denotes not merely the ethnic group of the friend, but also the fact that the association originated in India, and was renewed in Britain, not made here.

I have added a table showing the number and type of friends/acquaintances made by the 7 selected case studies. Where the number in any category exceeds 20 I have said so, since to reach this number indicates that the student has a wide acquaintanceship in that field. Such breadth of contact does not always indicate depth of effectiveness, as will be seen from the detailed studies which follow.

Table VIII - Number Grouping and Sex of Friends/ Acquaintances of Cases 1-7.

Case	Kin		Co-Regionalists		Other Indians		Other Nationals	
	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
1	3	3	Over 20	Over 20	7	1	Over 20	Over 20
2	0	0	6	1	5	1	6	11
3	0	0	Over 20	0	8	0	5	5
4	0	0	Over 20	3	6	1	8	9
5	2	0	Over 20	0	5	0	9	4
6	1	0	Over 20	Over 20	2	0	Over 20	Over 20
7	0	0	2	0	5	0	Over 20	Over 20

Choice of Illustrative Case Studies

Of the thirty case studies I have, I have selected these seven to show different types in extent and development, and the interplay of variables resulting in different levels of achievement and fulfilment in social and academic fields as well as extent of adjustment achievable.

Case 1. He was assisted by kin on arrival and later during his stay, though the tie has always been tenuous; he worked full-time to see himself through his chosen course of study, which broadened his contacts with the host society; his co-regionalist contacts were extensive as well as effective and he was an office-holder in his regional association; contacts with other Indians were few, but in one case important and helpful; he married a British girl who brought with her a range of British affines and friends, effective in such enterprises as house purchase, or as referees for jobs.

Case 2. had no kin in Britain, but co-regionalist friends made in India were effective, as were religious ties. Contact with the host society was made through College, through holidays, through employment. He returned to India to marry traditionally, but brought his wife to London and settled there.

Case 3 is an example of a student with social life restricted to the University, no kin ties in Britain but extensive-co-regionalist links both from India and through College, though mainly the latter. Friends from other parts of India were also made through College. Although Muslim like Case 2, his religion had no influence on his social life in U.K. The fact of having left wife and children at home made him extremely India-centred and intent on an early return.

Case 4 had no kin ties in Britain, but co-regionalist links were extensive, some dating from India, others made through them in London, or through College or regional association meetings. Acquaintances, though no deep and lasting friendships, were formed at religious clubs. Western girlfriends, made through University contacts, were numerous. Unmarried, he had an illegitimate son by a common-law wife. On parting from her he obtained a very good job in Scotland and settled there.

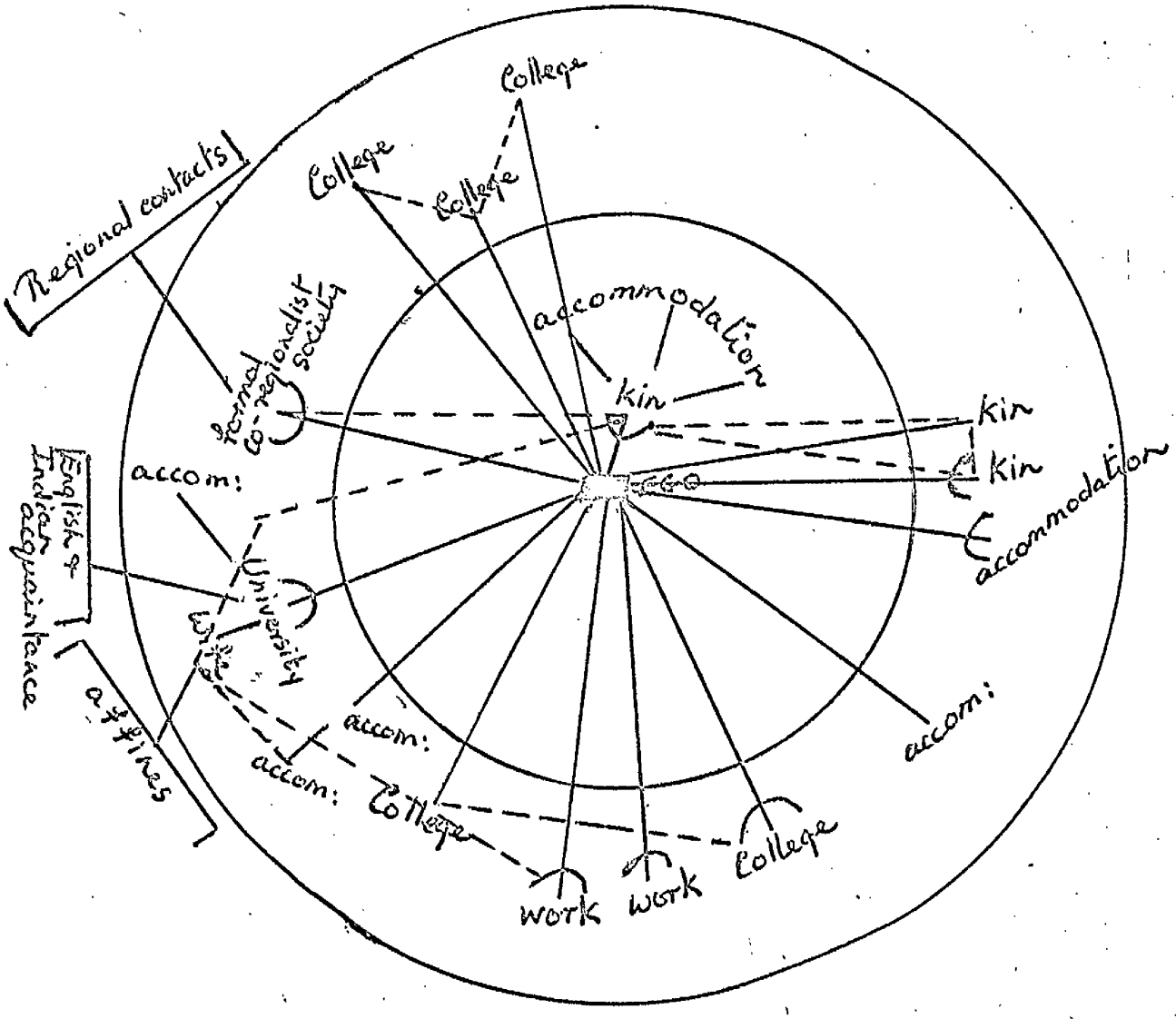
Case 5 had effective regional contacts before arrival, but no kin in U.K. Most of his social life has centred around his College, the University, and the Students' Union. Religious affiliations played no part in his social contacts. Though he has English friends, even being engaged to an English fellow-student, he is conscious that most non-regional contacts are not deep or lasting. Closest to him are the co-regionalist families in U.K. he knew before his arrival. He is an example of a student who has scarcely ventured into British society outside the academic sphere.

Case 6 on the contrary is an extrovert, and easy mixer in any society. Contacts with the host society are extensive, through College, through employment, and, now, through his British wife. Unlike Case 7, he blends this easy social intercourse with the British with active participation in his regional association, where he has a wide circle of friends. The one kin tie he has in U.K. is a close and effective one. He has been unable to settle down to a permanent job or to complete a course of study during his stay, and has developed into the "eternal student". His was a "shotgun wedding"; but he has been lucky in his wife.

Case 7 shows a student who has thrown over his Indian background, settled here, and married an English girl. This last both Case 1 and Case 6 have done, but they show it does not necessarily imply rejection of things Indian. Particularly ignored are his co-regionalists, and the concentration of his friends lies among non-Indians, mostly met at College, and through employment.

CASE HISTORIES

CASE I


College
College
College
Regional contacts
accommodation
formal co-regionalist society
kin
kin
kin
accom:
accommodation
English & Indian acquaintance
University
affines
accom:
accom:
College
College
College
work
work
accom:

Case 1.

Pralhad came to Britain 18 years ago, took a degree in Sanskrit, and is now working here as a schoolmaster. He is married to a Welsh girl. His coming to Britain and his early studies in this country were sponsored and paid for by his elder step-brother, already established in U.K. and married to an Englishwoman. Pralhad lived in their boarding-house on his arrival, and was consequently in a good position to make a number of friends from among his co-residents, especially as he shared a room with three other students. The majority of the lodgers were from his own part of India, and of his own caste. At College, where he started his studies about two years after his arrival, (having to pass qualifying exams. before acceptance), he made English friends too, although these had no contacts with his kin or friends made at his brother's boarding-house - they never visited him there, for instance, although he went to their homes occasionally, as a guest. He became a member of his regional association in London, to which his brother also belonged at first, thereby broadening his knowledge of others from his own part of India resident in London. Other relatives came later to London, staying for some time with his brother; namely, a cousin, and Pralhad's step-sister, her husband and daughter. With these, too, he had contact during their stay.

Pralhad attended two Colleges affiliated to London University and one college of the University during the course of his studies. Friendships made through these are shown in Diagram 1; it is clear that his contacts at the University college have been the most far-reaching. A number of acquaintances, both Indian and English, were made, together with closer friends, by whom he was found accommodation when needed and introduced to his future wife. Interlinkages occur between these University friends and the formal regional association; between them and accommodation contacts; and between them and Pralhad's wife, through whom his acquaintanceships broadened to include a circle of her kin. Diagram 1 is marked by a small number of cross-ties and interlinkages between the several spheres of his social relationships.

Of the seven selected case studies, Pralhad received the greatest help from kin; he was actually sponsored by his step-brother, and lived with him, making a return for this assistance by helping in his brother's boarding

house and printing business. Trouble began to brew when the brother and his English wife wrote to India complaining that he wished to spend money on the cinema and similar entertainment; the general picture given was that all he cared about was having a good time. This was done even though he was given no new clothes, only his brother's cast-offs and articles such as gloves and shoes left behind in the boarding house by departing lodgers. This was in the days of sweet-rationing, and he was denied his share of this, too. Gradually dissatisfaction grew, especially as Pralhad wished to study Sanskrit, while his brother had brought him over to read for a B.Sc. He left his brother's house and was helped substantially during the ensuing very lean period by a wealthy Punjabi friend, studying Pharmacy, who used to give him his one square meal a day. He maintained contact with his cousin, also studying in London, but he was not very close. During the six months before degree finals Pralhad returned to his brother's house, as he was not working at this time, and paid for his keep by helping with the cooking, cleaning, washing-up, etc. At this time he met his future wife, and they were married from his brother's house with only family present: Pralhad's brother, his wife and daughter, the cousin, and the step-sister, her husband and daughter, who were staying with Pralhad's brother at that time. His step-sister prepared his bride for the wedding, giving her a sari and blouse for the occasion. Five years after the marriage, he severed all relations with his brother. There are several reasons for the insecurity of kin ties in this particular instance:

a) Pralhad's family in India dispersed on the death of his mother many years ago; there is no central "home";

b) He and his brother were not full brothers;

c) There is a basic difference of outlook between them: Pralhad is an intellectual, his brother a businessman.

d) There was a resentment of Pralhad by his sister-in-law, especially immediately after his arrival in the United Kingdom, when he was being kept by his brother. Some years later, after his marriage, he carefully calculated the amount of money his brother had spent on him, and took it to him, in cash, with the intention of breaking all ties and obligations, but it was refused. Since then they have not met - a matter of three years.

Pralhad became a member of his regional association in London through his brother, who was instrumental in re-starting it after the Second World War. While his brother did not maintain his membership, Pralhad did, and was an active organiser and office-holder until his marriage, when his membership lapsed. His ties with his co-regionalists were wide and effective: financial loans were forthcoming in times of hardship, with no pressure imposed for repayment - although, should the lender himself need the money, the borrower was honour bound to return it as soon as possible, either in instalments from his pay, or by borrowing from another friend. Written guarantees were not exchanged. Pralhad was at liberty to stay the night or have a meal, at any time, with any of his co-regionalist friends. Material objects, such as radios, could also be borrowed. When one of these friends was returning to India he was fully occupied for several days beforehand by visitors, who came to help him shop, or to bring him gifts to take to their own families in India, or simply to talk, loudly and simultaneously, about the gay times they had had together. Those closest to him went to the air-port with him, if they could possibly manage it. Thus the student would leave a warm and helpful group of friends in London, to be met by his family in India.

When Pralhad left his brother's house, he was always welcome at the flat of one of his married friends, whose wife and son were in Britain with him. (The wife actually came from the same village in India as Pralhad). The friend came from the same part of India as Pralhad, and all were Brahmins. This flat was a home from home for several young unmarried Brahmin students, and they would congregate there for all the major Hindu festivals, especially Divali. The friend's wife would cook traditional and regional dishes for them, and she, being regarded as an honorary sister, would receive presents from them. It was to this circle of co-regionalists and fellow caste members that Pralhad first introduced his English girl-friend before he had finally decided to marry her. He took her round to visit them all, and afterwards discussed his marriage plans with them. The girl had no idea this was going on. A lot of questions had to be considered: Was he going to return to India? If not, what career should he take up in Britain? What of his family commitments? How did his proposed fiancée view

them? What would his family think of an English daughter-in-law? etc, etc. These points were all discussed by Pralhad and his friends. It was only when the question was settled in his own mind, and he had definitely decided to marry the girl, that he took his fiancee to meet his brother and sister-in-law, although she had known about them and wanted to meet them for some time. The stages of this courtship can stand as an example of many others: first, the boy takes the girl out, to places where they are unlikely to meet any of his friends, so that no gossip is spread concerning his doings, and, if nothing comes of his friendship, as few people as possible will know about it. Secondly, when he feels fairly sure of himself with the girl, and knows she will make a good impression on his friends, and will herself meet them gracefully and easily, he begins to introduce her around. This is an acknowledgment that he regards this friendship as a serious thing. He discusses the pros and cons of his proposed marriage with his friends, and makes up his own mind after considering their possibly conflicting views. For instance, while the majority of Pralhad's friends encouraged him, there were those who said such things as: "What do you want to marry here for? With your degree, you'll get a much better bargain in India!" Others considered the girl's health; she suffered from a chronic, though not serious, physical disability; they considered him foolish to marry a girl who might prove an anxiety at some future date. It was only after this second phase that Pralhad introduced his fiancee to his kin, and she was introduced <u>as</u> a fiancée; he had already told them he was going to marry her. This third phase does not occur in every case of intermarriage, of course; those students who have no kin in Britain have to omit it.

Immediately after marriage Pralhad and his wife were accommodated by a friend from the same part of India as he was who owned a boarding house where other of his regional friends had stayed. Pralhad and his wife retain their contact with his regional friends, and the category is broadened through introductions, and through meetings of the regional association, which, however, they do not regularly attend now. In spite of the contacts he makes through his work as a schoolmaster, these remain largely surface acquaintanceships; he rarely meets any of his colleagues informally after school hours, and does not enjoy the same intimacy with them as with his co-regionalists from India. For instance: one of these, the married friend

at whose flat Pralhad and his bachelor friends would celebrate Divali and other major Hindu festivals, was visiting India in order to see his family and to find out if he could bring some of his income there out of the country to help his family now settled in Britain. Pralhad lent him £50 to finance his trip; other regional friends lent him more. No IOU's were exchanged. Pralhad asked his friend to visit his youngest brother in Bombay to enquire about his welfare and needs, while, in turn, he wrote to the brother, who was in banking, asking him to give his friend every assistance with his financial affairs. These requests were faithfully carried out. Meanwhile, Pralhad and other friends undertook to look after the wife and children of the man visiting India, who were staying in Britain. On his return, his friend repaid the loan promptly. Although most of them are now married, Pralhad and his closest co-regional friends, with their wives, often still go to this particular friend's house at Divali; for the celebrations.

On other occasions, he has been called upon to assist and advise new arrivals from his own part of India on how to get jobs or enrol in various courses. Because he is a teacher, he is expected to know about such things. These new arrivals need not be his friends, or friends of the family; they are simply recommended by co-regional friends already here, and, on the strength of that, they are aided.

To summarise, then: in Pralhad's case contacts with and assistance from kin occurred as follows:-

1) Accommodation.

2) Financial sponsorship.

3) Arrangements for marriage.

It is interesting that 1) and 2) occurred relatively early during Pralhad's stay, while he was still studying, and while contact with his father in India remained strong, and he was influenced by the Indian concept of obedience to and respect for one's elders in the family. His brother was in place of his father in Britain; disagreements between him and his brother which were relayed to India were always deemed to be Pralhad's fault, as he was the younger. It was only after he became financially independent that the final rift occurred between him and his brother.

Assistance from and contact with co-regional friends can be subsumed under these headings:

1) Accommodation.

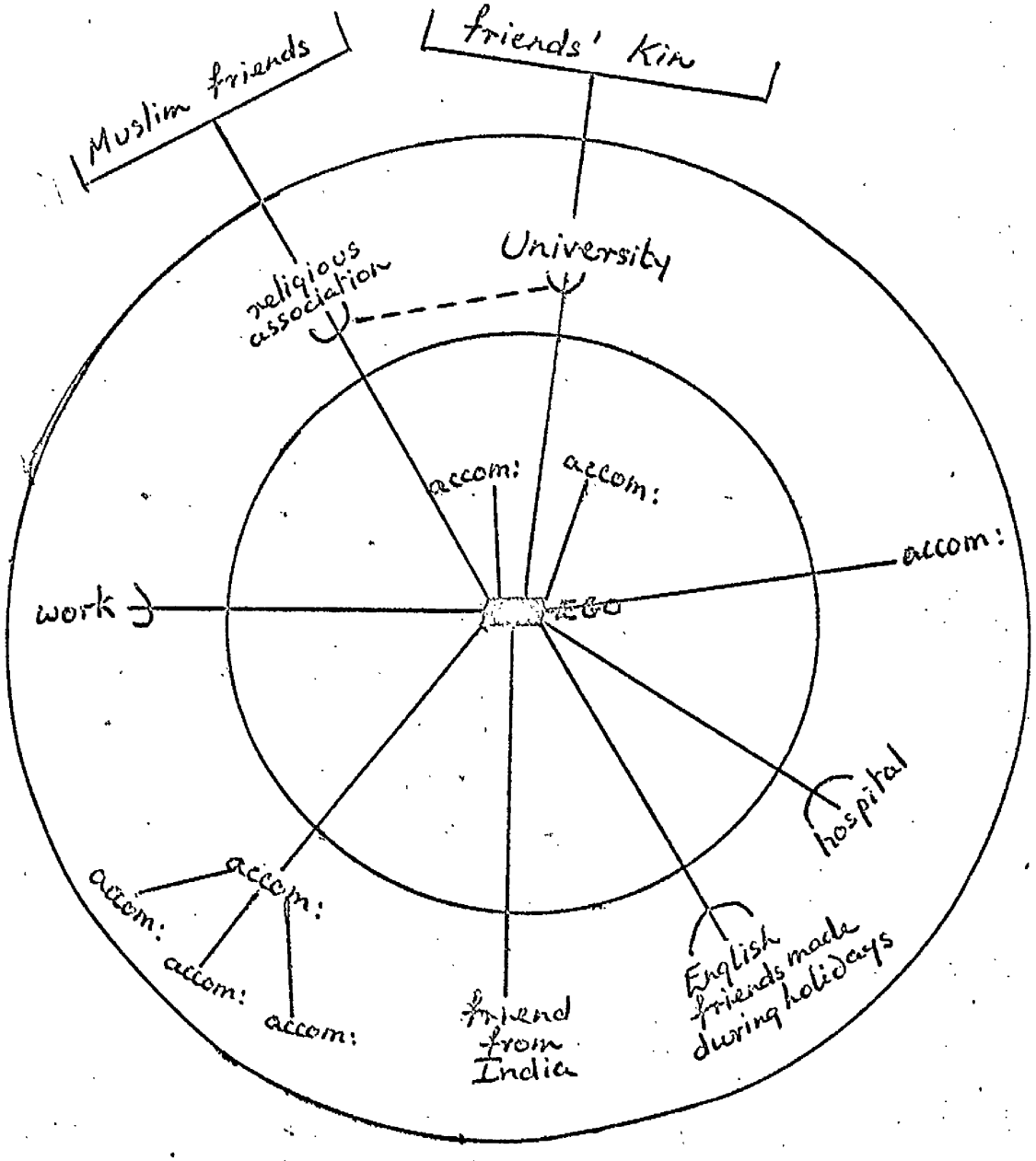
2) Financial aid (both to Pralhad and from him to his friends).

3) Advice and recommendation on such matters as choice of job, marriage partner, where to settle down, etc.

4) Entertainment at Divali, and regional festivals.

In Pralhad's case, there appears to be a progression from the traditional regard of kin as primary source of aid and advice, with the corresponding respect for the opinions of the older members of this group, to a greater reliance on friends from the same area of India to fulfil functions formerly left to kin. This progression was intensified by the number of years he was absent from his home in India (14 years at the date of the first interview), and by the increasing extent to which he became financially independent. The split between Pralhad and his brother did not affect their relationships with their mutual friends; these remained on good terms with both, and Pralhad was often indebted to them for information on his brother's health, which was not good. Here, again, is the reliance upon friends, as go-betweens, which, in India, might have been reserved for kin, in such a family disagreement. Throughout the years Pralhad remained in Britain, the only non-regional friend to whom he owed a great deal in exchange for practical and material help was the Punjabi friend who aided him when funds were low immediately after he left his brother's house. Apart from this, his strongest and most enduring relationships have been with his regional friends; indeed, they still are, both informally, in terms of visiting and entertainment, and formally, because whenever he attends a meeting of his regional association (of which he is no longer a paid-up member) he is welcomed warmly and urged to re-join.

CASE 2


Muslim friends
friends' kin
religious association
University
accom:
accom:
accom:
work
ego
hospital
accom:
accom:
accom:
accom:
friend from India
English friends made during holidays

Case 2.

This diagram has fewer interlinkages among social contacts than the preceeding one. Although Husain is a member of a large family in India, having one sister, two full brothers and two step-brothers, he had no relatives in Britain on arrival, and none have come over since. He had no sponsor; he saved the money needed to come to Britain entirely by his own efforts; he had taught for a period before coming over. He had no acceptance from any College before coming, and therefore worked in a factory to start with. On arrival he took lodgings with a Pakistani landlord recommended by the Pakistan High Commission, even though he was, and remains, Indian. (No Hindu Indian would have the inclination to apply here for assistance, still less any hope of actually receiving help). He soon left and moved to an Indian landlady in East London; these two householders were his first social contacts in U.K. - neither address was obtained through the recommendation of friends, but from official bodies. He gained admission at the Institute of Education, London, where he studied for six months before being admitted to hospital, seriously ill. By this time he had made several friends from among his fellow-students and the lecturers, and these visited him in hospital. He still exchanges Christmas cards with the head physician there, although the contacts he made there did not go further than acquaintance. Closer were his University friends, some of whom invited him home to meet their families. He met several English girls at College, but these were all casual friends; he made no special girl-friend. He is a strict Muslim, so does not smoke, dance, drink, or eat pork, bacon, etc.; one or two of these factors may have limited his social field. He has visited several English families as a guest, especially at Christmas; he was even informally "adopted" by a Welsh family living in Kent, whose daughter was a fellow-student of his. Of her parents he says: "They are my mother and father while I am in England!" (Such friendly relationships with student lodgers are not unusual; Case 8, while on holiday in Bognor, became very friendly with his landlady, an old lady of 70, who invited him and his American fiancée to stay free of charge "because she liked my company". Case 9, too, a Parsee from Bombay, was part and parcel of his landlady's home in East Sheen: "In this house I knew the whole circle of the couple's friends, and all their

business; I was practically one of the family, and took all my meals with them." Case 7, see p.144, gives another example of this). During Husain's work as a teacher he has made many personal contacts with English people; also while on holiday in various parts of Britain. He found it unnecessary to join University or College clubs in order to meet people.

Husain was a member of the Islamic Cultural Centre in Regent's Park; one of the senior administrative staff there was a friend of his in India, and, since he has come here, Husain looks upon his flat as a home from home, regarding his friend's wife as his bhabi, and taking her occasionally to the cinema, which they both enjoy, but her husband does not like. Just as he calls the wife his "elder sister-in-law", the husband is his "bhai" - elder brother. The extent to which this feeling goes may be judged from the fact that while Husain was in hospital his friend regularly sent £3 per month to Husain's widowed mother in India, out of his own pocket. Husain had always done this before he was taken ill, and he was anxious that his mother should not have the anxiety of knowing he was a long-stay patient in hospital while so far from home, while also feeling the loss of the monthly postal order. Although he did not hint at his illness in his letters home, he knew that if the monthly £3 ceased, his mother would know something was wrong, and make enquiries. So it was to his old friend that he entrusted this regular commission, which was faithfully carried out. As soon as he was well, Husain repaid all the money, but no pressure was put upon him to hurry its return. No written IOU was drawn up by the friends.

Through attendance at the Islamic Cultural Centre, and through his friendship with one of its leaders, Husain has made extensive contacts with other Muslims in London, though his close friends are drawn from those from India or Pakistan. He took British nationality, and decided to stay on permanently as a teacher after qualifying, with a view to marriage with an English girl. However, his mother continually wrote to persuade him to go home to marry, finally sending him photos and accounts of 4-5 prospective brides whose families she had contacted. He returned to India for a period of about nine months, and married one of these during that time. He brought her back to England with him, entered her for a postgraduate degree at London University, resumed his own teaching career and postgraduate study

part-time, and bought a house in Battersea. Here he takes in boarders, Indian or Pakistani Muslims, whom he contacts privately, through his Muslim friends. These are the most suitable lodgers he could find, because of diet restrictions.

In spite of the fact that Husain has an outgoing personality and a spontaneously generous nature, he has found the English somewhat reserved, and not anxious to discuss their problems and troubles; "they do not wish to appear indebted to anyone." He finds his Scottish and Welsh friends more responsive. Although Husain has extensive contacts in London with English people, few of these, if any, go very much deeper than a sincere acquaintanceship. (He has sincere fondness and respect for the English landlady in Muswell Hill who took him in on his release from the hospital, when still "living on pills". The University Lodgings Bureau fixed him up here, and over the years he saw to the collecting of rents for her, the maintenance of standards of cleanliness in the house, etc., since she was not resident there. When he left, she offered to go guarantor for him if he wished to buy his own house).

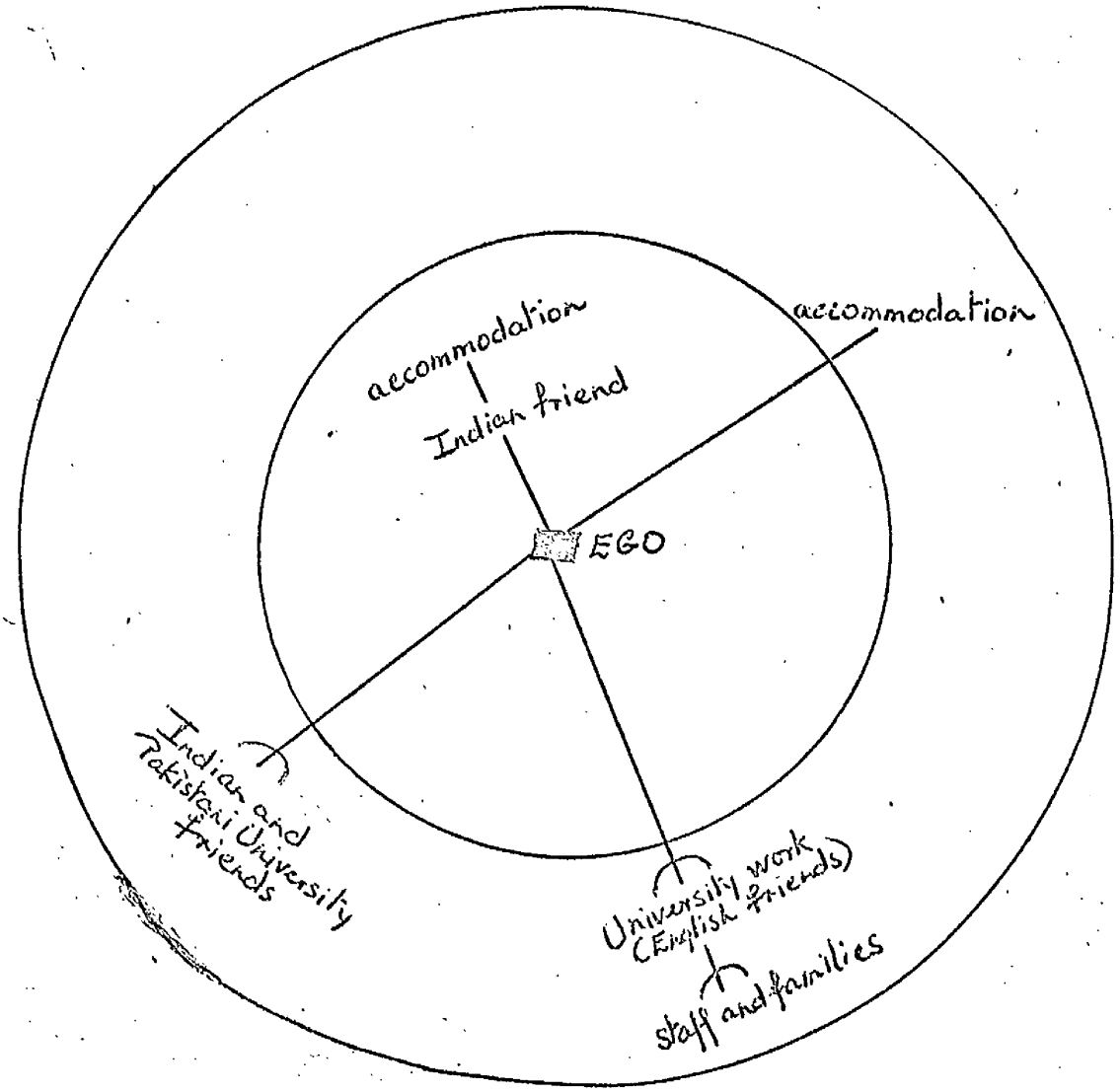
It is possible that Husain's effusive generosity may be rather an embarrassment to his English friends, whereas to his Muslim friends unexpected visiting and meals, the loaning of money without security, putting up friends without a thought as to one's own convenience, etc., are only to be expected. This is a cultural difference which cannot be explained away logically: on the one hand we have open-hand, open-house, selfless generosity, on the other a regard for personal dignity and privacy, within the bounds of which obligations are to be fulfilled. Much may be said in favour of both sides; but it is supremely difficult for an individual born and bred in one system to integrate himself fully into the other, although he may appreciate it on an intellectual level. Once an Indian marries a Western woman, there is never such casual visiting from his friends, married or unmarried, as before, or as if he were married to an Indian woman. Appointments have to be made beforehand, and he will always ask his wife whether the visit is convenient, even if it is his oldest and closest friend who is coming. Likewise, if a Western wife visits her husband's Indian friends, it is with the expectation of being entertained, not of chatting

in the kitchen while preparing lentils or rice while the menfolk relax in front of the television. The English wife of a student who was moving to a flat next door to that of his brother and his Indian wife confided that all might not work out quite as well as her husband anticipated. He said: "Think of it! We shall have a telephone that they will be able to use, while we can watch their television!" She added, in an undertone: "Sounds marvellous, doesn't it? But how it's going to work in practice, I don't know! One can have too much of Anjali!" (Her sister-in-law).

We find Husain lending money without security to English friends, but, when he is in need himself, he turns to an old friend from his home, whom he trusts to fulfil his family obligations. Being an orthodox Muslim, Husain's religious beliefs reinforce his social contacts, especially with friends from India and Pakistan, and from his own part of India particularly; he celebrates Islamic festivals at the Islamic Cultural Centre, and, for him, this is like going home, since he goes to his old friend and his wife there. These have taken the place of his kin group in London. It is probable that the emphatically religious nature of his friendship group made inevitable his return to India for marriage, although he has known so many Western girls in Britain, and, indeed, expressed a wish to marry one of them. His Indo-Islamic cultural background was ever-present in his friend, a high religious official; the effects of a mixed marriage, some of which are described above, were too close, since he had decided to settle in Britain.

Cross-ties between the spheres of his social activity can be seen to be minimal; obviously they exist between his co-residents at his lodgings, and they are strong between his Muslim University friends and the Islamic Cultural Centre, and between this and his friend from India who came over with his family to take up a senior position there.

CASE 3


accommodation
Indian friend
accommodation
EGO
Indian and Pakistani University friends
University work (English) friends
staff and families

Case 3.

Ahmad is also Muslim, and his case is interesting as it shows the extremely limited social intercourse of a student who devotes his time almost exclusively to his studies, keeping his contacts with the host society as sparse as possible, in order to return home as soon as he can. His total stay in Britain amounted to two years, during which time he spent three months preparing for a qualifying exam., and a mere one year nine months on the actual preparation for a Ph.D. thesis in Psychology, which he successfully presented. He had been allowed two years leave of absence from the University where he was a lecturer in India, and he missed his family severely, living for the day when he could return. He used no Islamic religious centres to further social contacts during his stay, unlike Husain. He deliberately minimised his social life, in order to have few distractions from his work. He had no relations in Britain at any point during his stay; but a friend from his home was his first contact, albeit a transitory one, as this student was only passing through London on his way to the U.S.A. He helped him to find his first accommodation, in a hotel in central London, which subsequently proved too expensive. After this he found his own rooms, or sought the help of official organisations; as he preferred the independent atmosphere of hotels and boarding houses, possible friendships of an enduring nature with fellow-lodgers or landladies have been restricted. He did, however, become quite friendly with the English landlady of a boarding house in central London, where he stayed until he left England.

Ahmad's research, dealing with problems of memory, was conducted entirely among native English speakers, but no close friendships emerged in consequence. With his subjects he was responsive but professionally reserved. His friends were chiefly Muslim Bengalis (Ahmad himself being Bengali) with whom he had common experiences and interests. None of these friendships were continuances of associations at home; all were casually begun in the informal atmosphere of University common rooms, notably that of the School of Oriental & African Studies. Ahmad did not actively practise his religion during his stay - he observed no dietary restrictions, no fasts, no festivals, no prohibitions against alcohol. In this he contrasts with Husain, who, nevertheless, had extensive social contacts with the host society and mixed freely.

Ahmad became very friendly with certain members of the academic and administrative staffs of his college, especially with his supervisor. Being a member of the University staff at home, as well as being a family man, he said he found the company of lecturers and their families more congenial than that of students. At first glance, it may appear strange that Ahmad, with his reserve and concentration on his studies, became so close to some English families that he could look upon them as his own. Throughout his stay, he was not on such terms with any Indian family unit. Perhaps this is not so strange, however, Ahmad was not inclined to spend hours in the social amusements of local gossip, chit-chat, communal meals, festivals, taking children out for trips, buying attractive presents for birthdays, and so on. He wanted the sort of relationship that would make him welcome on, say, monthly (previously notified) visits, but would nevertheless respect his need for privacy and peace at other times. This he got in his association with the English family; an Indian family, while welcoming him with greater warmth, perhaps, would have demanded more in return, emotionally and materially, which Ahmad, at that particular moment, was unprepared to give. In the same way, his relationships with his Indian acquaintances were kept on a superficial level; he had no wish to become absorbed in an active social life, and he realised this was only too easy. He was quite satisfied with this way of life: when feeling in need of a break from study, he could go to the common room and chat; or arrange to take his professor's secretary out to dinner, in appreciation for all the help she gave him; or visit his friends and relax in the company of their children. He does not dance, and did not take the initiative in drinking, although, if someone asked him out for a drink, he did not refuse. A farewell party was organised for him on his return home by staff members at his college.

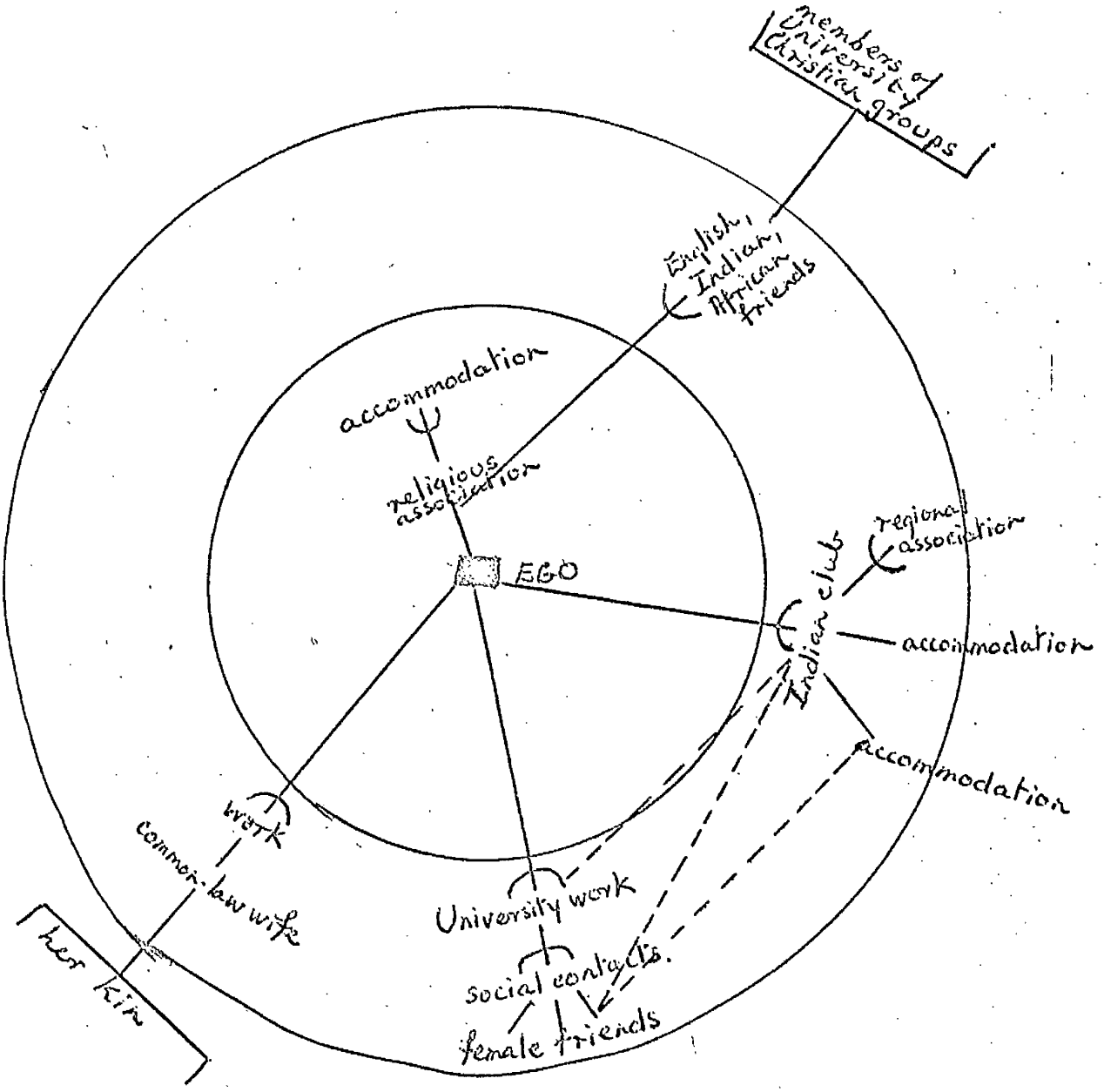
Although Ahmad's Indian friends, whether from his own part of the country or from other areas, have had only a superficial influence on his life in London, it should not be overlooked that he has been able to strike up acquaintance, however casual, much more readily with them than with English fellow-students. It is to them he goes when he wants to chat in the Common Room, and his favourite place of relaxation is the School of Oriental & African Studies, where he can find plenty of his fellow-countrymen, not

his own college nearby. This is so in spite of the opportunities of meeting English students afforded by his work. Even though it is to his English friends' homes he turns when he wants a family atmosphere, and to the staff of his college, both academic and administrative, that he goes when he needs assistance, casual daily intercourse is most readily maintained with fellow-Indians, and, more especially, with fellow-Bengalis.

In Ahmad we have a placid rejection of things Western, not out of hostility, but rather out of indifference, as being norms and values which have nothing, or, at most, a merely transitory contact, to do with the main stream of his cultural life. More decisive in rejection is Case 27, in Britain with his wife and family, who switches off his television whenever a bikini-clad girl appears on the screen, in whatever context, since he feels it is not suitable for his wife's eyes. Since she may not even watch such things on a T.V. screen, actual social contact with Westerners, who behave in this way, is obviously under prohibition.

The diagram shows the restricted nature of Ahmad's social relationships clearly; his only social contacts with the host society are through the University. Even so, although his social interaction was confined to one sphere of activity only, he professed himself fully satisfied with his stay. Such comparatively isolated students, as long as their isolation is by their own choice, need not be considered socially deprived, though culturally they may get less out of their stay than those more socially active.

CASE 4


members of University Christian groups
English, Indian, African friends
accommodation
religious association
EGO
Indian clubs
regional association
accommodation
accommodation
work
common-law wife
her kin
University work
social contacts.
female friends

Case 4.

Augustine is a South Indian Christian, whose father is a priest in a leper colony. Recently he got his Ph.D. in Psychology, and took up a hospital post here; he has been in Britain for 14 years. He seems inclined to stay in Britain, although, throughout his stay, he has consistently referred to his return to India, where he was a University lecturer. At no stage in his career has he had relatives in England, but his links with students from his own part of India have been effective and extensive. The main spheres of his activity are summarised below:

Accommodation.

Augustine's co-regionalist friends have consistently played an essential part in his search for comfortable accommodation. Even before his arrival he asked such a friend to find him a room in London, but this effort failed, so for a short time he had to live in an expensive hotel in Bayswater. Then a close friend of his father's found him a room in a mixed Christian Fellowship Hostel, but he was not happy here; he then met the South Indian warden of the new Indian YMCA in London, who encouraged Augustine to come and stay there. Here he made many Indian friends. According to regulations, he had to move out after one year; however, after failing to find another permanent place, he returned to the YMCA, begging for an emergency bed. There was a new warden, "but he too was South Indian", so Augustine moved in. On subsequent occasions when hard-pressed for accommodation, he always went back here, through the good offices of successive South Indian wardens. Apart from such hostel accommodation, his "digs" were almost exclusively found for him by fellow South Indian Christians; in a particularly good house in Kentish Town rooms were handed on to friends as they fell vacant. These friends he met through College, and also through the YMCA; owing to the fact that this is a Christian organisation, and that the warden is always a South Indian Christian, there is a concentration of South Indian Christians there, if not as residents, then as visitors. Many call regularly each day, using it as a club and a sort of poste restante. Augustine's regional association meets occasionally at the YMCA, and, although he has never been an active member, he has frequently attended at festivals, with his South Indian friends.

The period Augustine spent in the Kentish Town boarding house, surrounded by South Indian friends of similar background and habits, was his happiest time in London. He moved away to South London to be nearer his work in a psychiatric hospital, but returned to this house later; gradually his group of friends returned home - his closest friend, a boy from his own village and a school-friend, brought his wife and family over and settled down as a professional family man, eventually buying his own house. To this family Augustine attached himself for some time. The Kentish Town boarding house began to fill with Bengalis as his friends left for home; finally he complained he would have to find another place, as they were making it obvious that they wanted his room for another Bengali friend of theirs. His final accommodation in London was found for him by an English University friend, but this was because she was working temporarily in an accommodation bureau just when he needed it.

Social Life

Augustine spent Christmas in English homes during his first 2-3 years in London, but this he did not enjoy, because of the artificial atmosphere of strangers being flung together for the festival - he could not feel at ease. Later, when his friend brought his wife and children over, he would join them; and later still, when a new warden of the YMCA was appointed who, with his wife, had been childhood friends of his in India, he stayed for the whole Christmas season with them at the hostel. He was closely associated with several Christian associations during his stay, notably SCM, and through these his social contacts became more international in character, though they were not of an enduring nature.

A major part of Augustine's social activities was bound up with his friends from South India. During his stay in the Kentish Town house he, his friends, and their girlfriends, were all known to each other and would go out together in a large group. (All were University students). Within the group there was no feeling of unease or antagonism over the girls; if one went off with another's girlfriend he would be trusted to take no advantage. There were one or two North Indians who sometimes attached themselves to this group, because they belonged to the same Department: should one of these pay attention to one of the girls friction would at once arise. In spite of such possessiveness, there was no expectation of marriage with these girls,

although in one case the friendship formed has been a lasting one, of several years' duration. All these girls were European; although Augustine and his friends would look appreciatively at Indian girls, they would never ask them out, as it would be assumed that their intentions were serious, and, being such a close-knit, regionally-based group, rumour would spread quickly home to India. Affairs with European girls were not reported home, even in the case of married men with families in India, although, in the case of the latter, one of the friends would warn the girl of his "status", should the affair seem to be becoming too serious. There is a difference here between this South Indian Christian group (Roman Catholic as well as Syrian Christian) and the North or Central Indian Hindus. Among the latter, relationships with European (or Indian) girls would be definitely reported back to India, hence the tendency to keep them quiet unless they become serious; with the former group a certain incidence of "affairs" seemed to be expected, and tolerated. These students come of Nayar ancestry, and the contrasting matrilineal and patrilineal traditional family structures of South and North India may account for these differences in outlook. The members of the group, with their girlfriends, met regularly at the Students' Union every evening, going on from there to a dance, or cinema, or simply a coffee bar. The group began to split as various members returned to India, and as one of the girls began to go out with a Kashmiri, which her South Indian escort did not like.

Some time after taking a job as research assistant at a hospital in South London, Augustine completely disappeared from his friends' knowledge for $2\frac{1}{2}$ years. He also broke off contact with his family in India. His father wrote in desperation to Augustine's school friend, now settled in London with his wife and family, with whom he had been very close; but this man, after making enquiries at his last-known place of work, his College (where he was told that Augustine had left his completed thesis with them and then vanished), and his ex-girlfriend (now married, and the only other member of the original group remaining in London), was forced to report his absence to the police as a missing person. After $2\frac{1}{2}$ years Augustine mysteriously re-appeared at the University, and after a period of secrecy poured out his difficulties to the ex-girlfriend. An Indo-Mauritian Roman Catholic nurse at the hospital had become pregnant by him, and they had been living as a married couple, having a little boy. He could not get on with her

relatives, and had never considered marriage. Matters had come to a head; (he was suspicious of her having had sexual relations with other men), and they were parting; but the child's future was worrying him, as he did not think he had much future left with the mother on her own. Augustine needed to discuss this badly, but did not want any of his South Indian friends to know; he therefore turned to the English girl for help, after swearing her to secrecy. At first he appeared to wish to withdraw from all contact with his son, but his friend persuaded him to confess it all to his parents, and call on their assistance, warning him that his son and the boy's mother might make demands upon him in the future, perhaps after his return to India and his marriage there. The grandparents agreed to take the boy, but wished him to be baptised before coming to India. Augustine had no contacts with any priest in London, and did not have the courage to approach his own parish priest, or the Chaplain to the University, so once again he approached his English friend, who was able to arrange for the christening at her own parish church.

Augustine was now in contact with his father again, and returned to College to complete his thesis, which he did successfully. He broke with his son's mother completely. Gradually he began to build up a circle of friends again, several of them South Indians, studying at various Universities in Britain, where he would visit them. Although he had indicated to his father that he would return to India when his thesis was completed he did not do so, but took a post in Scotland as psychologist.

Religion.

There is no Syrian Christian church in London, so that Augustine was cut off from any strong religious community influence. He has never attached himself to any one church, not even the University Church, during his stay. He attended churches of various denominations except Roman Catholic, for preference the Methodist or Anglican. He was in touch with the SCM and the CMS, and attended some of their social functions. From none of these did he make any lasting friendships; they helped to broaden his outlook, being thoroughly international in character, but he was always on his best behaviour, quite literally "in my best suit", and could not relax and be himself in this company. Very few of the Christian students attached to

these organisations were Indian, and this probably accounts for Augustine's inability to make close friendships through them; of the foreign students who belong, a substantial number are African, against whom he is prejudiced, although he did have one African friend, whom he regarded as "an exception". Indeed, his last landlord before leaving London was West Indian; when this man answered the door to him, Augustine said he experienced a shock, and did not know what to do about the room offered; as it was a pleasant, clean house, he took it, and eventually became very friendly with the occupants.

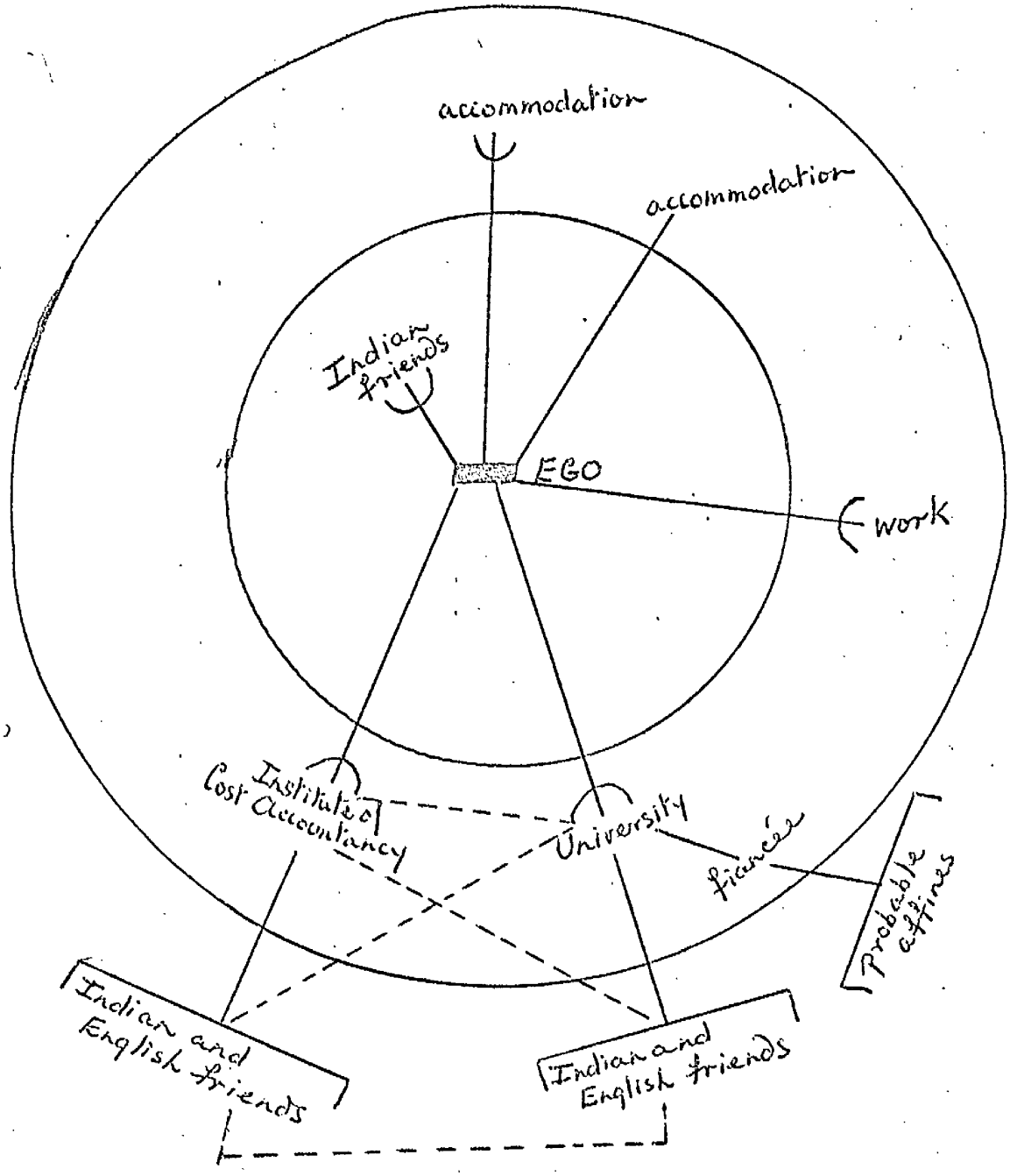
It is clear that Augustine is happiest and most at ease when in the company of fellow South Indians, preferably of the Syrian Christian community. A North Indian psychologist, attached to his Department, who used to spend a great deal of his free time with him, soon began to irritate him; Augustine would complain of his accent: "that high-pitched Northern twang", and say that "K is always talking through his hat - he doesn't understand even the most elementary psychological concepts - he tries to tell us (e.g. South Indians) that he has a high position at home, and we have no means of finding out; but I don't believe him." The underlined phrase stresses the regional difference; a South Indian could not impress his fellows as being more highly placed than he actually was, because contacts at home could quickly disprove this; but Northerners could. On being asked on several occasions where his friend K was, he would reply: "I've avoided him today; I'm tired of his constant drone;" or, "I think I've offended him; I insulted him last night, I was so tired of his nonsense!" (It is necessary to point out that K had several North Indian friends on whom he did not have this effect.) There was a language problem too; both were forced to speak English, which, in Augustine's case, was good, but unfortunately not so in K's, which served to underline their differences, add to Augustine's feeling of superiority, and afford him opportunities for poking fun at K. He was particularly insistent that K should not hear of his illegitimate son. It should also be noted that it was not only the major North/South dichotomy which influenced Augustine's choice of close friends; these were all Malayalis, like himself, and did not include Tamils, or Kanarese.

There are several interlinkages between Augustine's University friends, including his girlfriends, and the Indian YMCA; some he knew through both

institutions, and the contact was thus strengthened by meeting them both at place of study and place of relaxation. It is interesting that there are no interlinkages between any contacts made during the period of Augustine's affair with his illegitimate son's mother and his University/YMCA friends - he was deeply ashamed of this escapade.

He visited several of his father's English friends while in Britain, but none of these can be considered as his personal friends; visits were fleeting, and had no subsequent influence on his stay in U.K.

CASE 5


accommodation
accommodation
Indian friends
EGO
work
Institute of Cost Accountancy
University
fiancée
Probable affines
Indian and English friends
Indian and English friends

Case 5.

Ashok is Hindu, and 26 years of age. He came to England after taking B.A. and Ll.B. degrees, with the intention of studying for Ll.M. as a private student. In India he tried to get into the Indian Administrative Service, but failed; his family has had representatives in this Service since the days of the British Raj - they live in Delhi. On arrival in U.K., he decided to study Cost Accountancy rather than Law, and to do this stayed in London. As yet he is unmarried, although he has a steady English girlfriend, daughter of an economist.

Ashok says he has "good connections" in India, and will therefore get a good post on his return with his Cost Accountancy qualification. He is keen to return to India as soon as he qualifies as he sees a great future for India in 20 years' time, when people become fully conscious of their independence and there is a better standard of living generally, as a result of industrialisation. He says he decided to do Cost Accountancy instead of Law because it is more generally useful in all parts of the world, and he likes, and wishes to indulge in, travelling. "That, in itself, is an education". He believes that Englishmen who have taken opportunities to travel know more, and are more tolerant, than those who have spent their whole lives in U.K. Even so, Ashok maintains that Indians, especially Hindus, have more prejudices than the British (he quoted, for instance, the taboo against Indian girls mixing with boys, even with English ones when they come to Britain), though they are not prejudiced regarding colour, as there is such a range of colour represented in different areas in India. His own family is broad-minded, so, although he does not know as yet what its reaction to his prospective marriage with an English girl will be, he hopes for the best. There have been precedents for this in the family; but one of these has left the family circle altogether and is now living in Britain somewhere (no-one knows where) with his German wife, while the other is still living in India, but separated from his wife. Not happy precedents, Ashok admits, hardly likely to make his relatives look forward to his marriage. His family is a united group, although not joint in type; yet its members will holiday together, quickly rally to each other's support at need - and Ashok feels it would go against his nature to sever his connections for any reason.

Ashok has never had any relatives in Britain during his stay, but on arrival he was helped by friends of his family with whom he stayed for about a week, and who then showed him how to go about finding lodgings, by looking for advertisements in shop windows. He has always found accommodation in this way, and, inevitably, has experienced colour prejudice on occasion: when they saw his face at the door landlords would say the room was let, though it had been available when he 'phoned. (Ashok's English is excellent; from his speaking voice he could easily be mistaken for a native of U.K.) He prefers rooms with cooking facilities, since he feels freer, and likes European landladies. Like many other students, Ashok thinks English landladies have more restrictions than Continental. "They are very conservative," he says. Many English people know the difference between Indian students and Indian workers, and like the former; but others, who are unaware of the difference, refuse all Indians.

For a short time immediately after his arrival in U.K. Ashok worked as a Post Office clerk. He thinks the friendliest people in Britain are to be found among employees of the GPO and British Railways. The only prejudice he encountered in the Post Office came from his immediate superiors, who seemed to feel resentment at his position, probably considering him as a source of competition for their jobs.

Ashok belongs to no clubs at all, either within the University or outside; he only joined NUS and the Institute of Cost Accountancy. He is fond of sport and dancing at University "hops". His friendship contacts are chiefly made at University. He says Africans experience far more colour prejudice than do Indians in U.K., and takes great pains to stress that Indians, especially from the North, are very fair-complexioned. He explains that the Aryan and Dravidian origins of Northerners and Southerners respectively account for differences in complexion.

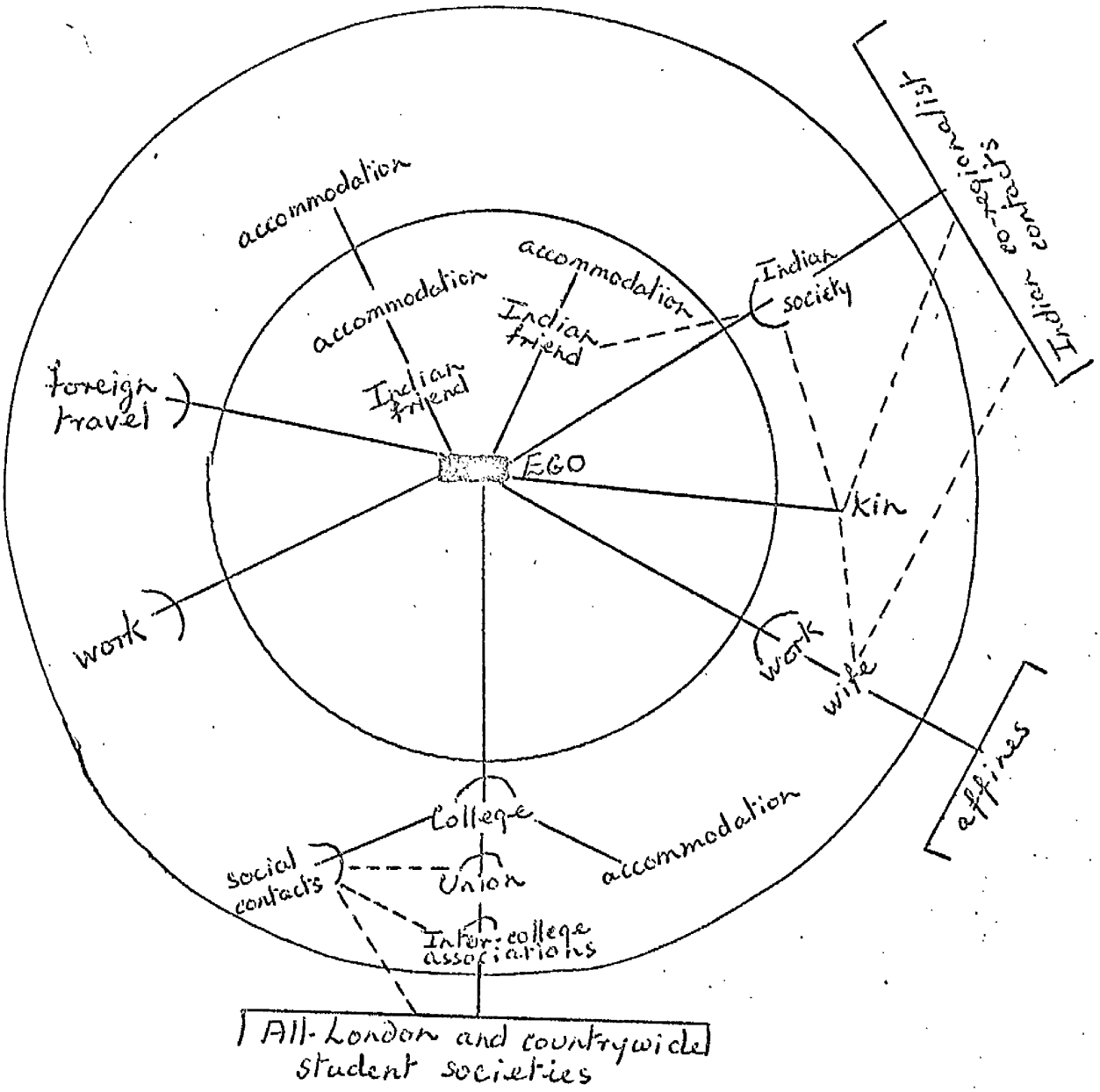
Ashok's closest friends in Britain are the two or three families of various acquaintances of his own relations in India, who had settled in this country before his arrival, and own their own houses here. They are his "real friends", not merely "acquaintances"; he goes to great lengths to make a distinction between these two terms. The friends he has made in this country (the closest of whom are North Indians) he met through College, the Cost Accountancy Institute, and the University. He spends most of his time

between these three centres. The two English boys who live at his lodgings are good friends of his, too.

Ashok would like to spend a further four years in Britain working as an accountant for the sake of the practical experience; then he would like to go on to the United States, for more experience. His years in London have been happy; he would encourage others to come here, and says that, apart from some prejudices, English people are of the finest. In evaluating this judgment it must be remembered that his experience of them is narrow, almost completely confined to University contacts, and, indeed, solely academic as regards informal social intercourse. The prejudices he mentions are those experienced finding lodgings, and while working in the GPO, which seem to indicate that, were his informal contacts with the English wider in scope, they might not have been so consistently happy.

The only interlinkages among Ashok's social contacts are those between his University and Institute of Cost Accountancy friends. Through the University he met his fiancée and therefore her kin. No lasting friendships arose from his period of employment, and this was a separate sphere of activity from his College life.

CASE 6


accommodation
accommodation
accommodation
Indian friend
Indian society
Indian friend
foreign travel
EGO
kin
work
work
wife
Indian co-ethnicalist
affines
College
social contacts
Union
accommodation
Inter-college associations
All-London and countrywide student societies

Case 6.

Shiv is a Brahmin from Maharashtra, who has lived in England since 1952; he has paid only one short visit to India during that time, after his father's death. He had no relatives in Britain before his arrival, but wrote to one of his father's ex-pupils here to ask him to arrange in advance for his accommodation. This boy, who was studying in London, agreed to do this; but when Shiv arrived in London there was no-one at the station to meet him. With the aid of a Maharashtrian friend he had made on the boat, he made his way to a Maharashtrian Brahmin boarding house in Hampstead, where he believed arrangements to have been made regarding his accommodation. His father's pupil had not even done this, but the landlord (a fellow Maharashtrian Brahmin) agreed to help him for a week, until he found a room elsewhere. From India Shiv had brought food and spices for another family friend in London, who was able to find him a bed sharing a room with Maharashtrian friends of his in an Indian hostel in Kensington - here he widened his Indian contacts. Through his original Maharashtrian friends he joined his regional association in London, in which he rapidly became very active, attending meetings and functions regularly, participating in plays produced, etc. He was elected to the Committee, and, being earnest and painstaking himself, is constantly complaining about individual members of the association who are more casual and unpunctual for functions. Nevertheless, although disillusioned by some association members, he never loses faith in the association itself. Seasonal feasts and festivals are celebrated with his co-regionalists at meetings of the Association, or at the homes of married friends, also Association members. His membership of the Association has resulted in a wide knowledge of Maharashtrians in London; indeed, when urgently in need of some money, he was able to use his contacts thus made to get a weekend job as barman at the Indian Gymkhana Club in Middlesex. Although Shiv does not have the academic or financial assets needful to become a prestigeful figure in his regional group, he is always to the fore in organisational matters and in the day-to-day running of the regional association.

Shiv first began to study electronics at a Polytechnic, working meanwhile as an assistant at a large Oxford Street department store, where he was

happy and made many English friends. He then received his call-up papers for National Service, and to escape this went for six months to Germany, getting a job at British Army Headquarters, and making some German acquaintances. He returned to Britain to study Business Management, which he did for a year, but at his father's death lost interest and gave it up. Through an elderly woman friend he had made while working at the store he met a German girl who offered him the chance to study full-time, while she worked, but he did not take advantage of this. He again began studying electronics at Northern Polytechnic, where he made numerous friends, and at the end of the First Year was elected to the Union Committee, maintaining an interest in Union affairs for the rest of his stay. In this way he has made many inter-collegiate and University friendships, finding accommodation through them, and getting a girlfriend through his College social work, too.

Shortly after Shiv returned from his brief visit to India after his father's death, his younger brother followed him, to study electronics. They lived together, and acted as managers of a hotel in Central London owned by a Gujarati. Somewhat uneasily, this worked for a time, until Shiv quarrelled with the landlord. He was also managing a restaurant for this man, and he met there an English girl who was on the staff, of whom he became very fond. She became pregnant, and a hasty but large wedding was arranged, just at the time when Shiv was having his final quarrel with the hotel-owner. This did not come to a head until after the wedding, so the reception was held in his restaurant. All Shiv's Maharashtrian friends came to the wedding breakfast, though the ceremony itself was a simple register office affair. The bride's relatives and friends were present, as were about six of Shiv's Western friends. In all, there were about 60 guests, mostly Maharashtrians. Only the closest of these were aware of the bride's condition, but not long after the wedding it became common knowledge; Shiv complained that several of his oldest and closest friends, who previously had welcomed him into their homes as a relative, now showed an unwanted coolness in their relationship with him, and did not seek his company. There was not the accustomed eagerness to help, although he did need it at this time, since he had given up his job at the hotel (having therefore to leave his flat on the premises) and now had a wife to keep. One of his Maharashtrian friends who ran a small insurance

agency took him on as a clerk, for which Shiv was grateful, although other Brahmins remarked that, as the man was non-Brahmin, he was only employing Shiv to assert superiority, and would exploit him. After searching fruitlessly for a flat, Shiv's wife went to her parents to await the birth of her child; Shiv was offered the share of a flat by an English boy with whom he had been very friendly since his college days. The coolness of his Maharashtrian friends was not due to his marriage with the English girl: other of his friends have done the same with no adverse affect on relationships. Neither did they object to his previous Western girlfriends; one of these, whom he met at College, remains a close friend to the family of one of Shiv's friends; she even stayed in his house to keep his wife company and help her with the children while the husband went to India. A wariness developed rather because of the girl's condition when Shiv married her - this was not socially approved conduct. It remains to be seen whether the existence of the child will in time make the union respectable.

Shiv's younger brother was despatched to India to announce the marriage to his mother and elder brother; he was away about two months, and returned with a wife, the result of hasty manoeuvres, as he had no such intention when he left Britain. The family had become aware suddenly of the dangers that a young single man might run into abroad, and had taken out the guarantee of an Indian wife before the younger brother followed Shiv's example. On his return, he found accommodation at a Maharashtrian boarding house, and got a job promptly, as he was a qualified engineer; he was therefore called upon to assist his elder brother with pocket-money, as the latter was in straightened circumstances at this time. Shiv's situation at the time was this: he was married, his wife staying with her parents while expecting their first child; he had no qualifications for any job; he was living free of charge in an English friend's flat, out of his kindness; he had a poorly paid job as a clerk without prospects; he was getting most of his meals free from Maharashtrian friends, his greatest expenses being travel and his personal appearance - he was never seen shabby or unkempt.

Obligations of kinship were reciprocal in this case; Shiv had helped his brother on arrival in matters of accommodation, acclimatisation, advice on what course to study and what College to attend. When the time came, his

brother responded with financial assistance, without question.

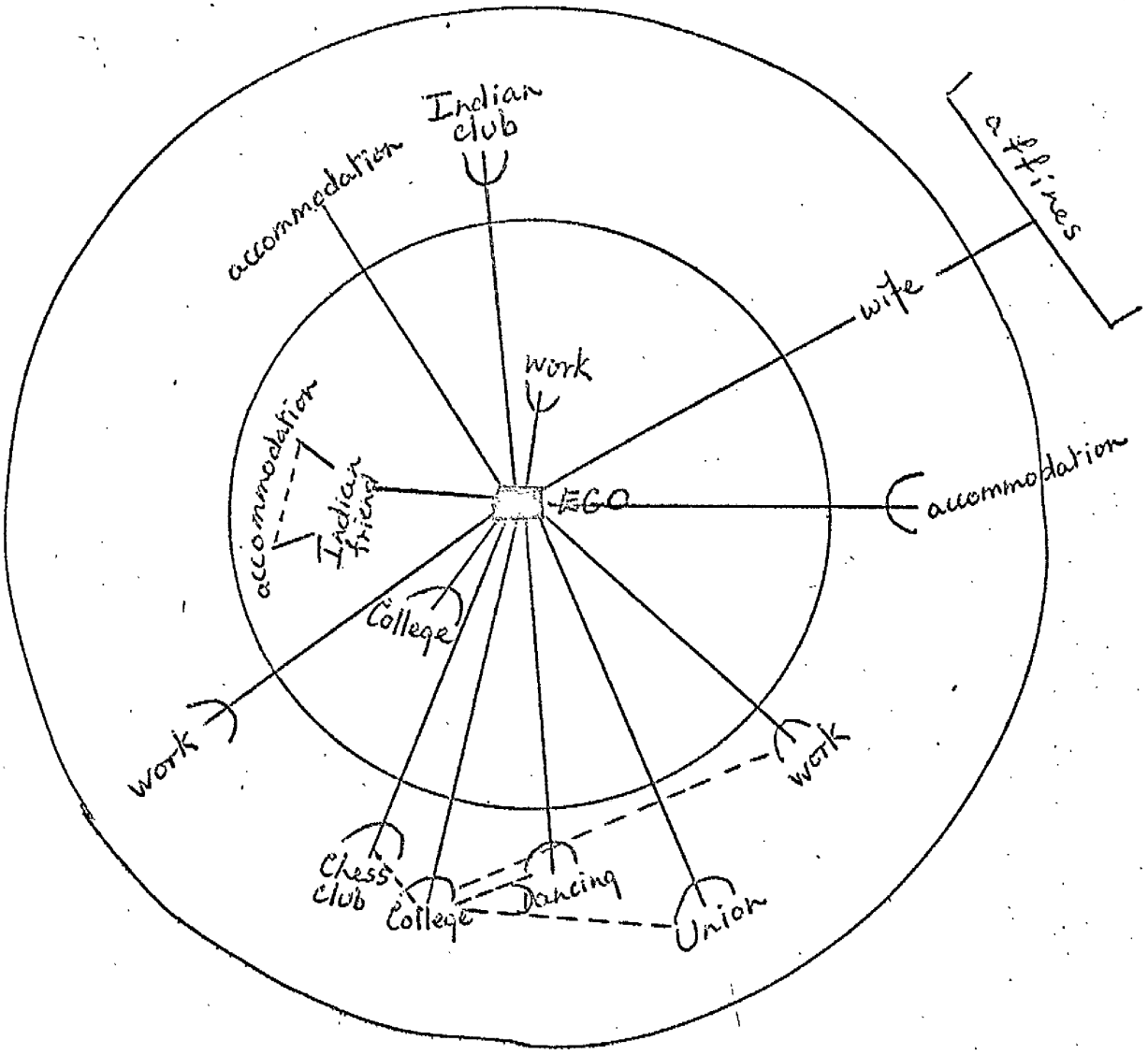
Co-regional friends were also ready with help in practical ways, in spite of the slight coolness that became evident from some. This did not make them ostrasize Shiv in any way; it was just that invitations from some quarters were less frequent, and more formal when they did come. There were homes where Shiv was treated as a family member; now this homeliness and spontaneous warmth were withdrawn, and he became a guest. His activities in his regional association had made him many good friends among Maharashtrians in London, so that he had a number of sources to turn to for help in varying degrees. The man who gave him the clerk's job was a leading member of the association; so was the landlady who accommodated his brother and his new wife on their return to London.

Since Shiv had been active in Union affairs and activities while at College, his social contacts were widely scattered, and not chiefly confined to his co-regionalist friends. In spite of this, however, only one English friend remained to help him - the boy whose flat he shared. He maintained a cool friendship with his South African girlfriend, but she was unlikely to offer active assistance after his marriage. The durability of his Western friendships, then, although they were active and extensive while they lasted, cannot be compared with that of his Maharashtrian friends, who, in spite of the dissatisfaction felt by some of them at the circumstances of his marriage, nevertheless continued to assist him and maintain contact with him. Almost all the Western friendships terminated soon after he left College, even though he had been so well-known there, and had done so much for the Union. Shiv is an exceptionally good mixer, and is very Westernised; he speaks fluent and idiomatic English. Yet these friendships proved ephemeral. For his regional association he had done much the same work as for his College and intercollegiate Unions, but the friends he made there were permanent and reliable. Even the contacts he made during his successful period of employment at the big store in Oxford Street did not last very long after he left the shop, although he liked those he met there. This case study shows how much influence a common cultural background and language, fortified by membership of a regional association, can have on a student's social relationships in the U.K. Formal contacts at association meetings are

carried on into the informality of leisure-hour meetings, and news of the home district in India, and of relatives and friends, is brought in by new arrivals and returnees. Such contacts with, and knowledge of, a student's home, strengthen the friendships made with his co-regionalists here, consolidating them. Shiv knows few Indians outside his regional group, and his links with them are not strong or lasting; an example of this is his brief business relationship with the Gujerati hotel owner. This remained a business relationship, totally unlike the informal friendliness of Shiv and the Maharashtrian businessman who gave him the job of clerk.

Interlinkage in Shiv's social contacts lie between his co-regionalists and his brother, and his brother and his wife. Although he played major roles in both the organisation of his College Union and that of his regional association, these spheres of his life, though similar in practical content and function, and existing contemporaneously, remain distinct and mutually uninfluential.

CASE 7


Indian club
accommodation
wife
work
accommodation
Indian friend
EGO
accommodation
College
work
work
Chess club
College
Dancing
Union

Case 7.

Autar is a Sikh, though not orthodox. He has lived in Britain for about 10 years, and is now a schoolmaster, owning his own house, and married to an English girl; her parents live with them. She was a fellow-teacher; they met after he had left University.

Kinship links have played no part in Autar's life in the U.K.; in fact, he was regarded as the "black sheep" of the family at home, and spoke of "pressures" which forced him to leave India, going so far as to say: "I felt I had had enough of India, and had to get away from my parents." On a return visit to India in 1959 the position was not improved; his brother's wife, whom his brother had married for love, was suspected of unfaithfulness. These suspicions were encouraged by Autar's parents, who had regarded the girl as unsuitable from the start; as Autar put it: "They could not understand my brother marrying a wife for himself; they thought she should be a sort of servant to the family." They urged him to divorce her; at first he agreed, but later, when the suspected man called to explain the suspicious circumstances to him, he refused. The newly-arrived Autar was urged by his parents to support them versus his brother, and to this end they made a great fuss of him. On hearing the full story, he took his brother's side, but his parents could not understand this attitude. It was largely due to this further family disagreement that Autar returned to Britain; he says, "Even on a visit I could not get on with my parents." He had consistently refused to have his marriage arranged in India - an added disappointment to his parents - during his brief visit in 1959 (we can compare this with the speedily arranged marriage of Shiv's younger brother during a two-month stay in India). He has become further estranged from his family owing to his marriage to an English girl, from whom he now has a son. It appears that the growing emotional coolness between him and his kin in India have made him turn towards his wife's kin for support and close companionship. He has always appreciated the personal freedom of British society, especially the opportunities to have girlfriends. His inclination has always been to marry an English girl - before his marriage he was once engaged to another teacher from Manchester, training in London, but the whole affair fell through. Nevertheless he appreciates the good points of the traditional Indian 'arranged marriage' system: it is invaluable in helping the

shy to get married, and parents' unbiassed views are more likely to be reliable than those of a romantic young man. He has tried to make friends with Indian girls studying in U.K., but says they are mainly the intellectual type, uninterested in men: "They cannot think about sex....if anything has to do with sex it must be evil. When we think of an Indian girl we think of a frustrated personality, always harping on and worrying over trivial things." He admits this may be wrong, because one or two Indian girls have been heard to complain that Indian boys are cold, and uninterested in them, preferring Western girls; so that it may be a vicious circle.

Before leaving India for the first time, Autar had arranged that an English friend, whom he had known in India, should fix up his accommodation in London. He joined University College, but left after a short time because of monetary difficulties; he had to take a temporary job with a radio firm. He was happy here, but made no lasting friendships; he looked upon this enforced work as transitory, having little to do with his chief aims, which were academic and professional. Through the University Lodgings Bureau he obtained lodgings near his work, in Finsbury Park. When he had saved enough money he started a teachers training course, and for this again got accommodation through the Lodgings Bureau, this time in Clapham. Here he made a heartfelt and permanent friendship with his landlady; he only left in order to enter the College Hostel. His social life was centred on his College during his course; once completed he took a teaching post, where he got on well with the staff.

Autar's closest friend is an English boy, whom he met at training college. He has made most of his friends through college or teaching, and they are mainly English. He occasionally visits the Indian YMCA (but his contacts here are nothing like as homely or effective as Augustine's) and did not even know of the existence of a Punjabi Association in London. His religious feelings are not strong, and he belongs to no religious societies. He preserves not one of the five tokens of the Sikh: kes (long hair), kangha (comb), kripan (sword), kara (steel bracelet) and kachh (long drawers). Although many Sikhs dispense with the most inconvenient of these during their stay in Britain, a large number retain beard or moustache, and steel bracelet; some students also keep their long hair, and the consequent turban.

Autar is an enthusiastic chess player, and made several friends at College by joining the chess club. He spent a lot of time in the Students Union, going to dances there and meeting people casually, especially English girls. He has relatively few Indian friends, and those he has are from all areas of India, not merely Punjabis (such friends were made chiefly through the Indian YMCA). These are mostly casual acquaintanceships; this is true also of relationships with fellow-Punjabis. His unfortunate family relations in India may be the cause of this: he wishes to isolate himself, and does not want stories of his activities, possibly exaggerated, to reach his home. If his closest friends were Punjabis this would inevitably happen, so, in order to avoid too much contact with his family, Autar has avoided co-regionalists here. News of his family he gets from the occasional Indian acquaintance passing through London, whose company, even so, Autar does not encourage.

We have already seen how ties with, and interest in, India can be strengthened by regional friendships in the U.K., and in Autar's case we have a deliberate reversal of the process, which nevertheless furthers proof of the effectiveness of regional friendships, even if in a negative way. Autar believes he has got more out of his stay in Britain (now to be permanent) than his fellows who have maintained close regional contacts. He feels that the best type of student to study in Britain is the extrovert, the "good mixer", as he himself is. He has grown away from India to a great extent; he speaks English fluently, has a very Western outlook, and turns primarily to English people as his friends, especially since his marriage.

Interlinkages in the diagram occur where expected, namely, between his College and his teaching jobs, his hobbies of dancing and chess and College and University. The other spheres of his activity remain distinct.

Friendship Type and Function: Summary.

Of these seven detailed case studies, it can be seen that only one bears evidence of kin already established in Britain before the student's arrival. He was helped by these kin; being supplied with accommodation and tuition by his brother, until, after numerous tiffs, the final break came. It is interesting that such a break did not occur between this student and his regional friends: his quarrel with his brother did not affect their mutual friends. Only one other student of these 7 had any relation in Britain at the same time as he himself; a brother, whom he helped extensively with a place to live, advice on courses to take and where to take them, etc.

Case 14, too, in Britain with his wife and child, took a large flat where his younger brother, a bachelor, joined him, helping with the rent while his sister-in-law cooked, washed and cleaned for the whole household. A similar arrangement was entered into by another student, who stayed with his brother while he was in London.

Extra-regional help, though unusual, does exist; for example, in Pralhad's case we have practical and very necessary aid from a Punjabi friend for a Maharashtrian who was living on short commons. Case 11 shows a Muslim student from Punjab whose Hindu acquaintance from another part of North India found him a vacation job. Such assistance, however, is generally of short duration or for rather casual matters; very rarely does it involve the lending of money over a period, or have an element of certainty of fulfilment that requests for aid to co-regionalists have. Even if Ego is out of touch with co-regionalists for many months or years, this certainty of fulfilment, with no questions asked, remains when need arises; Case 9 says that, having been out of touch with friends for 8-9 years, "I would not hesitate to approach any of them for help, and expect to receive it." Although ever-present kin influences, so much a part of Indian society, were largely absent, all the seven students whose case studies are given in full, except one, have close regional contacts in Britain, who give help and advice when needed, and take over the function of kin in many respects. It will be useful to summarise these activities under selected headings.

Accommodation.

Five out of the seven students were helped in this respect by co-regionalists at some stage of their stay, four of these immediately on their

arrival. Two students made abortive attempts to secure accommodation through friends before leaving India; the regional friendship link does not appear to work so successfully until the student arrives in Britain. By contrast, the two students who had kin to make the accommodation arrangements for them were safely housed on arrival. (Autar, who had asked an English friend to arrange his accommodation, found things satisfactorily arranged for him.)

It is rare for a student not to be assisted by co-regionalist friends at some stage of his search for accommodation. Some, as Case 13 indicates, arrive and go straight to an expensive hotel for a night or two, while making their initial contacts; in this case the student, from Bombay, did this, and was handed over to a co-regionalist (whom he did not know previously) living in a Maharashtrian boarding house, who, horrified at what he was paying for the hotel room immediately got him a place in the same house, where Indian food, too, was provided. Some students, like Case 8 and Case 28, come over to U.K. together, and decide to share a flat; others, as in Cases 20 and 21, meet here at College or co-regionalist associations and rent an apartment together. Such an arrangement can snowball: one student now, with his wife and two teen-age children, a girl and a boy, who subsequently came over from India, shares a three-room flat with a co-regionalist friend, his wife and baby.

Financial Assistance.

Three of the students were helped by regional friends financially during their stay, and the two students who had kin in Britain were assisted in this way by them. Another student, Case 11, admitted that he would most readily ask for such help from a co-regionalist, although he had not yet needed to do so. Only one, Autar would turn first to English friends for such help.

No doubt the preference for the assistance of co-regionalists in times of monetary hardship springs in part from the ease and informality with which this can be obtained. Contracts and agreements are ignored; arrangements for repayment are made by word of mouth, but, nevertheless, faithfully observed.

Often money is lent here so that fares to India can be paid; such money can then be repaid in rupees to the creditor's family in India out of the debtor's family funds there. This happened in Case 14; wife and children flew to India through money loaned by several co-regionalists in U.K., and her father-in-law reimbursed their families. Another student who borrowed

money from a co-regionalist friend found his friend needed the repayment in pounds, not rupees, when he got married in U.K.; it had to be paid back in weekly instalments, as the borrower was living on a tight budget; yet the debt was honoured without a hitch. This procedure may appear rash; but if a borrower comes from the same area at home, the lender will know enough about his family background, either directly or through mutual friends, to be assured of his trustworthiness and stability before the loan is made. Thus, too, the Indian social system influences, and to some extent restricts, a student's close friends in Britain; they are likely to be of the same caste, or, at least, the same varna, because intimate knowledge of other families in the student's home region is likely to be confined to fellow caste-members, or members of approximately equal caste ranking. Honourable repayment of loans in Britain, or failure to do so, reflects back onto a student's family in India, and his actions can be controlled and influenced by his home-ties. The borrowing of money is not as haphazard and casual as may at first appear.

Religious Observance and Ritual.

Four out of the seven students have attended formal religious occasions during their stay; of these, two were Hindu, one Muslim, and one Christian. I stress that attendance at such worship does not necessarily imply strong religious belief among the students concerned (1); for some the attraction was chiefly social, and for entertainment (2). The two Hindus generally attended functions sponsored by their own regional associations, and rarely

---

(1) Michael Wall, in his article "London Sikhism", (Guardian, 5th Feb. '63, p.7, cols. 1-5), quotes a membership of 2,000 Sikhs of all classes at the Shepherd's Bush Gurdwara, out of an estimated 20,000 living in London at that time.

(2) In his thesis, Dr. Benedict has isolated five main reasons for Muslims' attendance at their religious centres in London: 1) Social contact; 2) Religious obligation; 3) Free meals; 4) Interest in lectures provided; 5) Self-interest, e.g. locating business contacts, power-seeking in the associations, etc. (pp. 39-40). He quotes an average attendance at the Islamic Cultural Centre of 32 for ordinary meetings, but 600 at festivals. Festival numbers indicate "maximum extent of participation". (p.34).

appeared at the regular worship organised by such bodies as the Hindu Centre in London. This preference may be because certain festivals may be of greater importance in certain areas of India - the Ganesha festival is a primary one in Maharashtra, for example - and therefore they may be more characteristically celebrated among co-regionalists. Traditional festivals may also be celebrated privately by a family, and on such occasions close regional friends, especially the unmarried, are invited. This was true for the four students who had also attended formal religious functions. The celebration of such festivals, then, reinforces regional ties, and in most cases their social function appears paramount.

It might be expected that the Christian student would have been led to associating fairly closely with the British on the basis of common religious belief. In fact, this was not so; during the course of his stay he tried many different churches, even different denominations, but became affiliated to none of them. On major Christian festivals it was his custom to go, either alone or with other Christian friends from home, to one of the big London churches, such as Westminster Abbey, St. Martins-in-the-Fields, or Central Hall, Westminster, to worship in anonymity. The more social aspects of, say, Christmas, were fulfilled by traditional Kerala celebrations at the home of married co-regionalists, Christian festivals peculiar to South India, such as Onam, were celebrated in the same way, and also through feasts and entertainments organised by the regional association.

Not one of the five Syrian Christians interviewed had established regular links with any London church; not even if wife and family were also here. The one South Indian Roman Catholic interviewed had attended several Roman Catholic churches in London, usually the nearest church to his lodgings at any given time, as well as the University Chaplaincy, but he, too, had developed no strong ties in any one place. Questioned about this he maintained the priests took no interest in the congregation after the service, and no lay member deemed it a Christian duty to welcome a new arrival. "If I want to see a priest I must make an appointment, and then it will be assumed I have a problem to discuss, or want to get married, or have a baby christened! One does not see one's priest for a social chat - he'd think I was mad." This student had been impressed by the personal welcome he had

received at an Anglican church; it was a High Church, and he had thought at first it was Roman Catholic. After the service a lady in the congregation had spoken to him and taken him to meet the priest, who had stayed to chat for some time, even though he knew the student was Roman Catholic. In Augustine's case the mother of his son, a Roman Catholic, was turned away from a North London presbytery when she went to arrange baptism for the boy, possibly because she was not practising her religion, and therefore was unknown to the priest. The lad was eventually christened in an Anglican church with both parents present.

For all religious groups, the meals provided at festivals are a great attraction. Dr. Benedict points out that the counting of members at mosques in London on such occasions is very misleading as not all those present can be termed "members" (1). The different centres hold their celebratory feasts on different days, so that Muslims may attend all if they wish (2). Some, of course, only appear at the centres at such times. Such celebrations are open to all Muslims, not just those from any one country or any one area, and in addition to these, students celebrate privately with co-regional families, in their traditional way. Some Hindu families, of non-Brahmin caste, may deliberately invite co-regionalist Brahmin friends to assist them in the private celebration of festivals, to intone appropriate Mantras, and to promote additional merit through their presence and acceptance of entertainment.

The occasional wedding or baby's naming ceremony are occasions of great social significance. The categories of guests, in order of preference, are as follows:-

(a) Kin.
(b) Co-regionalists. (including European wives)
(c) Indians from other areas.
(d) Specially-favoured Europeans, e.g. employers or supervisors, etc. (These last will be treated with deference, given places of honour, waited upon, and the members of the family and guests who speak the

---

(1) B. Benedict, 1954, p.34.
(2) Ibid. p.34.

best English will be enlisted to make polite, if strained, conversation. Such persons generally leave early, having paid a dutiful visit, after which the remaining guests relax, and those from the same part of India settle down to stay on indefinitely, knowing that they will never be made to feel superfluous.) (1)

Such events get a great deal of publicity beforehand by word of mouth, so that, although formal invitations are plentifully despatched, the news gets round to a wider circle than could be reached in a formal way. It is thus assured that every co-regionalist who has the remotest interest in attending is told of the occasion and has at least an informal invitation. Invitations to categories (c) and (d) above are given only in a formal manner, to the individual concerned. For instance, should a Bengali be invited to a Gujerati wedding, it would not be expected that he should intoduce a fellow-Bengali friend and expect an invitation for him as well (see Fig. I A). On the other hand, if a Gujerati introduced a co-regionalist friend, efforts would immediately be made to 'place' him, to locate mutual friends, or, better still, kin, in India, which results in the organiser of the marriage saying: "Come to the wedding of my daughter (or son, or niece, or nephew) next week; your friend Z's maternal uncle will be there!" (See Fig. I B) The effective linkages of this case as opposed to the former are clearly shown in Fig. I, A and B.

This is an indication of how co-regional ties have a more extensive range of effectiveness because of intermediary links in India, than unreinforced friendship ties with non-regionalists with no common background or range of acquaintance.

Non regional friend:

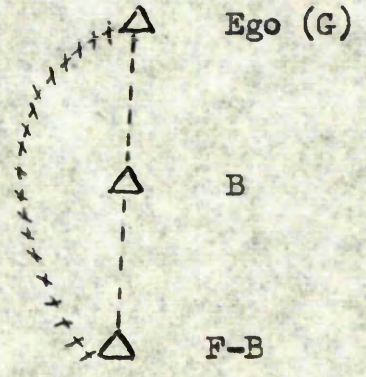


Fig. I A

(1) Compare G. S. Aurora, 1960. p.150.

Regional friend:

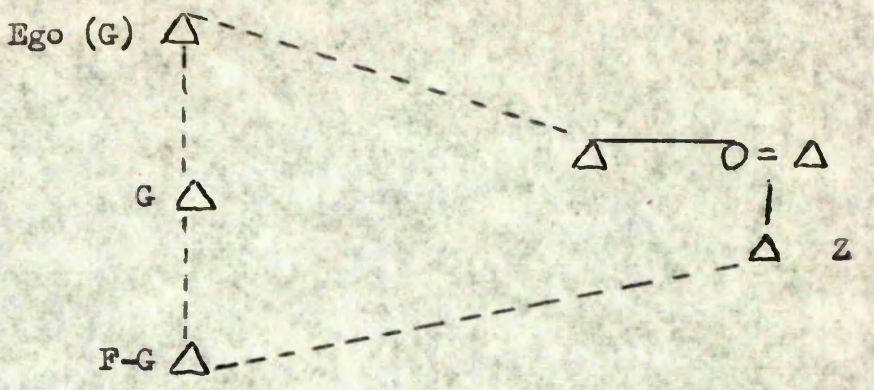


Fig. I B

Key: for the above diagrams

B = Bengali G = Gujerati

F-B = Fellow-Bengali F-G = fellow-Gujerati

- - - - - - - = effective friendship links

/ / / / / / / = non-effective friendship links

Informal Social Life: Help and Advice.

I have given detailed accounts of the relative closeness or distance of a student's relationships with the different categories of friends he has. In all cases except one, Case 7, the students' informal social life has been dominated by co-regional friends, and these have been the first to whom they turn for assistance, not only in major crises, such as urgent need of funds when a grant has been delayed or stopped, but also in common minor difficulties, such as understanding the Underground system, or the best stores to visit to buy woollen sweaters for the English winter. Small things, perhaps, but personal needs which make more intimate the ties of friendship. Advice from co-regionalists is likely to be accepted more readily than that from others; it is felt that their needs must be similar, so they will best know how to satisfy them. An example of this preference can be seen in the search for accommodation for a new arrival. If he goes alone to an accommodation department, it is likely that the major difficulties of finding "digs" in London will be explained to him, namely: the

sparsity of lodgings in central areas, the cost, transport facilities to his college from the most convenient non-central areas, etc. The student will be told that the larger, more comfortable rooms are to be found outside central London, in private homes, where he will also be able to meet English people, as he often will wish to do. However, if he is accompanied by a regional friend already resident in London (and upon whose floor he is doubtless sleeping at that time) problems of transport and its cost will be maximised (as will the cost of anything except central heating), as well as the real or imagined interference of a resident householder, the inconvenience of only the use of a bathroom, rather than hot and cold water in the room, etc., etc. To every suggestion made by the lodgings officer, one or more of these objections will be raised by the friend, until finally the student's choice becomes narrowed down to a single room with hot and cold water, central heating, cooking facilities outside it, in a lodging house with no resident landlady or housekeeper, yet with service, and only walking distance from his central London college. The officer is aware that to offer rooms at some distance will be a waste of time, as the regional friend will persuade the student to ignore such suggestions. He will therefore go off to look for his own "digs", and the field of regional contacts is at once mobilised so that the student will eventually end up sharing a room (which is the first thing he has told the officer he would never do) with a co-regionalist, probably in a none-too-pleasant house in a matching neighbourhood which nevertheless has the advantage of being within the easy travelling distance of college. Such disadvantages as there are are over-ruled by the companionship of a friend from home; and there are likely to be others in the same house as well - viz. the case study of Augustine, the South Indian student. In this sort of situation, the advice of a specialist official experienced in the needs of overseas students and the problems of obtaining comfortable "digs" in a metropolis, is likely to be largely ignored, while accommodation less satisfactory in reality will be accepted uncomplainingly on the recommendation of a co-regionalist friend, and its drawbacks tolerated. It is also true that rooms are handed on from one friend to another. The most common objections to rooms recommended by student accommodation bureaux are: too far away; too inaccessible; too small; few facilities, or fussy

landladies; too expensive. Students also complain that much accommodation on official lists is let by the time they contact it; but it is difficult to impress on an overseas student the necessity to move fast to book a room. Frequently they call for addresses on Monday or Tuesday, only to close the interview by saying cheerfully: "I'll contact all these next weekend!" In this respect, too, the co-regionalist friend acts in a manner more congenial; his negotiations are conducted in a leisurely and informal way, over a meal or a cup of coffee, and the room is booked without tiresome legal niceties such as payment of one week's rent in advance. One South Indian student, returning to London after an absence of five years, accepted an officially recommended room not far from the University, centrally heated, at 4 gns. per week. Here he was content, until visited by a fellow South Indian, after which he complained: "The office is recommending more expensive rooms now than when I was here before, so I was told." When told that the cost of living had risen drastically during his absence, he remarked "Hmm!", making it obvious that in his opinion this explanation was not sufficient; his friend's criticism had had its effect.

I have detailed the search for accommodation further in this chapter because it shows how much relative importance is placed on the recommendations and advice of regional friends, as opposed to specialist officials who might be expected to know more about the matter.

I have already described the part played by regional friends in selection of a Western bride, as in Pralhad's case. They are also consulted if a student has asked his parents in India to find him a wife; photographs and family histories of prospective brides will be sent, from which he must make his selection. These will be shown round to various friends; it is possible they may know the girls' families, or even be related to them in some way. Thus the student is influenced in his decision. This kind of investigation may go even further; Pralhad was asked by a newly-arrived co-regionalist, X, about the character of Y, who had recently returned to India after studying in Britain. When asked why he was enquiring, X explained that Y was to marry his sister, and he was merely asking Pralhad whether he knew anything derogatory about Y arising from his stay in London, as he was fairly sure

Pralhad must have known him as they came from the same part of India.

In recreational activities which extend outside the regional circle, such as dances, cinema or theatre visits, girlfriends, the co-regionalist nexus can still be operative. For instance, a group of students from the same area may take as girlfriends a small number of fellow-students who are already friends, as in Augustine's case. It is also possible for a student to pass on his girlfriend to a co-regionalist friend when he wishes for a new one. In this way a group of close friends of both sexes may be formed, who meet daily and informally.

Other students, such as Pralhad and Shiv, keep their relationships with Western girls separate from their regionally-based contacts at least until marriage is seriously considered; Pralhad for instance, once went youth hostelling in the Lake District with his German girlfriend and another European male friend - none of his regional friends was asked along. When such students visit cinemas or theatres they go chiefly with regional friends or alone, but not in mixed parties. Such students tend to keep their Western girlfriends to themselves; introductions to co-regionalists are rarely made unless marriage is in view, when their opinions will be sought, as I have described.

These categories summarise the areas in which regional ties are most operative and helpful. I shall next consider how best they can be theoretically distinguished within the student's total social field while in Britain, and what approach can explain best the form taken by this.

CHAPTER IV - SOCIAL ORGANISATION II: THE FRIENDSHIP CIRCLE.

Form and Spread of Student Social Contacts: a theoretical approach.

The function of the co-regionalist circle of friends has been described above; but to leave the study at that point is to ignore the place this circle occupies in the total area of Ego's social relationships, resulting in an unbalanced view of the whole.

To quote MacIver and Page, "Man's life is to an enormous extent a group life."(1) Having accepted this, our difficulties arise, for the term "group" is too vague in its application to be of value in a sociological analysis. In any society, the types of groups to which an individual may belong are legion, and this is especially true of a modern complex industrial social system, necessitating some differentiation of the groupings which, in their interaction and interlinkages, make up any recognisable social structure. Homans emphasizes this point, saying that in different social contexts, for example home, work, church, sport, an individual may belong to separate groups, although we cannot overlook the fact that membership of these groups may certainly overlap considerably. (2)

MacIver and Page designate the "primary group" as "the nucleus of all social organisation".(3) By "primary group" they mean not only the family, but the play-group, gang, gossip group and, (perhaps most important for our present purpose in dealing with Indian students), the friendship group. The chief characteristic of the primary group is the spontaneous way in which its members come together; they meet of their own volition, not in response to an institutionalised procedure, or in official capacities. Sub-groups of this primary nature may arise from amongst the secondary relationships of a formal association; but we shall examine the composition and function of these more closely in chapter five.

Dr. Desai (4) found close-knit groupings of the primary type to be of social and economic significance among Gujaratis working in Birmingham, with

---

(1) R. M. MacIver and Charles H. Page. 1961. p.213.
(2) G. C. Homans, 1951. p.85.
(3) R. M. MacIver and Charles H. Page. 1961. p.218.
(4) R. H. Desai, 1960. pp. 72-73, 369.

frequent "summation of roles" in one person. Primary groupings are also found among Indian students, but, owing to the diversification of their social action, there is little "summation of roles". The social field of the Indian student may be viewed as a series of primary groupings, which may or may not have any contact with each other, and which have functionally greater or less relevance to his life in Britain. Of these primary groupings, I would designate the co-regionalist circle the closest and most effective, because it is the most active in supplying the social needs outlined above, namely:

1) Accommodation
2) Financial Assistance
3) Religious Observance and Rituals
4) Informal Social Life: Help and Advice.

Even so, the student's face-to-face primary contacts are not confined to this circle, as is obvious from diagrams 1 - 7. His social field, with its small number of interlinkages and distinct spheres of activity is interesting in the manner of its lay-out, in its extensive radial outward growth coupled with minimal interaction between the segments of social activity.

How best, then, can we describe theoretically the growth and spread of a student's social field during his stay in Britain? As a whole, can it be termed a type of network, and can its sub-divisions be classified as sets or quasi-groups? First of all, I shall briefly review how these terms have been used in social anthropology in recent studies, in order to see whether they can helpfully be applied to the students' groupings, and, if so, in what sense they may be used.

Network, Set and Quasi-group: application of the terms.

The Shorter Oxford English Dictionary gives as one of its definitions of "network": "a light fabric made of netted threads"; in other words, a mesh, which in its turn is defined as an "interlaced structure".

J. A. Barnes, from whose use of the "network" concept in his study of a Norwegian island parish (1) much of the subsequent use of the term originated, used it to imply a social field of interaction, not based on one individual alone, but embracing his own circle of friends, and their friends, and so on.

---

(1) J. A. Barnes. 1954. pp. 39-58.

He describes his view of such a "total network" thus:

> "The image I have is of a set of points some of which are joined by lines. The points of the image are people, or sometimes groups, and the lines indicate which people interact with each other. We can of course think of the whole of social life as generating a network of this kind." (1) (Underlining mine).

> "Characteristically, a network has no head, and as I have here used the term, no centre and no boundaries either." (2)

Such "unbounded" networks are leaderless, with no co-ordination through organisation. Within the network, Barnes isolates ego-centred sets, formed by Ego according to certain criteria. Although these are not groups, organised for a common purpose with the leadership of Ego, they are entities bounded by Ego's personal vision. Such sets, being non-purposive, are classificatory rather than interactive.

Elizabeth Bott, in her book Family and Social Network has, confusingly, used Barnes' term "network" to cover both his concepts. She distinguishes between "close-knit" and "loose-knit" types; for instance, one family may have a series of relationships with other families in a personal way - this forms a "close-knit network". In addition, each of the connected families may have social relationships with other families who may not know the original family, or each other, at all; this series of relationships constitutes the "loose-knit network". (3) Taking the family as Ego in this case, Bott's "close-knit network" becomes an ego-centred interactive set, the interactions of which occur in action-sets, or a series of them.

The application of the network concept to a migrant situation was undertaken by A. L. Epstein (4) who uses Barnes's idea of the network, but adjusts it to his own situation in the Copperbelt town of Ndola, applying it to the social contacts of migrant African labour. His networks become ego-centred

---

(1) Op cit. p.43.
(2) Ibid. p.48.
(3) E. Bott. 1957. p. 58.
(4) A. L. Epstein, 1961. p.56 ff.

and personal, and the significant thing common to those who form Ego's network is their personal link with him. They may be acquainted with each other, they may not. Ego is the focal point of his own network; if he departs, it disintegrates and ceases to have any significance, existence even, as a social factor in that precise form and function. Epstein says that those with whom Ego interacts "do not in any sense constitute a group for they lack any co-ordinating organization." (1) Each individual, then, is responsible for the formation of his own network; it begins and ends in him. It is obvious that here there is a connotation to the word "network" different from that of Barnes, when he uses the term to signify a total social field. Epstein finds it necessary to distinguish between types of interaction within his ego-centred network. Those with whom Ego interacts most frequently, whether kin or friends, are the "effective" network. Such people are likely to know each other, and to extend their friendship circle through Ego. Those individuals in the network with whom Ego rarely interacts, whose ties with him are looser, Epstein terms the "extended" network. These members are unlikely to know others in Ego's network, and are not part of the closely-knit clusters of his "effective" network. These "networks" really parallel Barnes's ego-centred sets; we might even go so far as to call the "effective" network with all its interlinkages an interactive set, and the "extended" network a classificatory set. Epstein stresses the social function of gossip (2) which he finds to be especially strong in the "effective" network. To be gossiped about, even if in a derogatory way, does supply some social significance. Through this "effective" network, or interactive set, new norms and standards of behaviour, suited to a new urban environment, can be established and made effective. The sanction of gossip is an effective social control, and, used in the "effective" network, can influence the prestige and status enjoyed by an individual. Thus the purposeful function of this network is to augment adaptation to the new environment, and to provide both encouragement and checks to individual progress. In the absence, or sparsity, of close kinship links these "effective" networks take over their function and influence. We have already

---

(1) Op.cit., p. 56.

(2) Ibid., pp. 58-59.

seen how the same type of thing occurs among Indian students.

It remains to note that members of "effective" networks, apart from kin, are most likely to be fellow-tribesmen, with the same language and customs. Epstein says:

> "Kinsfolk apart, a man....finds his most intimate associates among those he calls 'home-fellows' or fellow tribesmen." (1)

The general feeling is that common membership of a particular tribe makes mutual aid, when needed, obligatory; therefore: "Amongst fellow tribesmen one is always at home...." (2)

In view of the closeness of the ties maintained by Indian students in the U.K. with their co-regionalists and co-linguists, and an overwhelming lack of effective kin ties, I would emphasize the parallel findings of A. L. Epstein with reference to his African migrant informants.

Apart from differences in the actual terms used, Phlip Mayer has made use of concepts basically similar to those of Epstein in a parallel social study of African migrant labour. He points out that, if a migrant's urban friends are home-based, rurally oriented, an "embodiment of the rural pull", they institute a kind of "incapsulation" which will prevent the migrant developing any really close contact with those outside the home group. Ties with these Mayer terms "morally significant"; in this respect they are unlike those formed with general contacts through work, etc. (3) Mayer decides that the "closed" or "highly connected" network, in which all individuals know each other, is more typical of a rural environment, or a home-oriented group of migrants, with their "incapsulating" tendencies. (This is the same as Epstein's "effective" network). On the other hand, an "open" or "loosely-connected" network, in which members may be known to Ego but not to each other (as in Epstein's "extended" network), Mayer finds more typical of the urban environment, and of the purely "urbanised" African, whom he defines as one whose personal ties are centred on the town, and whose social and cultural needs are satisfied within it, for whom the homeward pull is no longer effective.

---

(1) Op.cit. p.51.
(2) Ibid. p.51.
(3) P. Mayer. 1964. pp.28-29.

Mayer's attribution of the "closed" or "highly connected" network to the home-based migrant, and the "open" or "loosely connected" network to the completely urbanised and town-bred, whose ties with a rural background have been severed and replaced by a new relationship with an urban environment, raises doubts as to whether these circles of interaction are mutually exclusive. Epstein, obviously, does not find them so; he distinguishes both an "effective" and an "extended" network for each individual migrant. Mayer, too, seems to isolate an intermediate stage; he describes how all migrants tend to congregate on arrival according to common language and homeland, but he distinguishes between this "categorical similarity" and effective home ties which impress on Ego the consciousness of a common cultural heritage, and actively maintain his contact with his family and community at home through encouraging him to send money back, pay visits, and, by means of the gossip sanction, reporting his behaviour in town. (1) It appears that the Indian student's relationships resemble those described by Epstein, being both "effective" and "extended" in different spheres of activity, rather than the definitive networks Mayer found; although there are individuals, such as Case 7, whose personal ties are almost entirely of a non-regional type, and who have deliberately severed friendship/kinship links with home.

Into this maelstrom of sets and networks A. C. Mayer introduces the term "quasi-group", in an attempt to make possible a finer definition of their formation and function. Following Ginsberg, he distinguishes two types of quasi-group: the classificatory, which may be formed through certain "common interests" beneath what might be termed a "potential group": a social class, for example. We also have the interactive quasi-group, which, although it has a certain degree of organisation and interaction between members, is yet not so purposefully defined as a group. Bottomore, for instance, describes it as:

> "...an aggregate which lacks structure or organisation and whose members may be unaware or less aware of the existence of the grouping." (2)

His definition of the group, on the other hand, is far more precise:

---

(1) P. Mayer. 1962. p.30.

(2) T. B. Bottomore. 1962. p.92.

> "...an aggregate of individuals in which: (i) definite relations exist between the individuals comprising it, and (ii) each individual is conscious of the group itself and its symbols. In other words, a social group has at least a rudimentary structure and organisation (including rules, rituals, etc.) and a psychological basis in the consciousness of its members." (1)

H. A. Mess (2) classifies the "group" into three types: those distinguished only by "similarity of traits"; those in which this similarity is perceived, but has not yet given rise to any form of organisation; and those in which "community of traits has produced consciousness and organisation". He goes on to say:

> "Some sociologists would call the first two of these quasi-groups, 'quasi' meaning potential or undeveloped." (3)

A. C. Mayer's description of interactive quasi-groups is inseparably linked with the concept of "action set". It is through action sets that the interactions of these ego-centred quasi-groups occur, and the actions of a member are only relevant to the quasi-group when they take place between him and Ego or Ego's intermediary. Criteria of membership do not depend upon the members' interaction between themselves.

Bases for linking members of action sets are legion; kinship, religious belief, membership of a political party, are only a few. However, since action sets are founded for a purpose, there is thus a common bond uniting all members, although not all need be directly and personally connected with Ego; what Mayer terms "paths of linkages" may exist, and some members of Ego's action set may be linked to him only through intermediaries (4) In this respect such action sets differ from Bott's units, in which the interaction takes place among those already in direct contact with Ego.

---

(1) Op. cit. p.92.
(2) H. A. Mess. 1944. p.129.
(3) Ibid. p.129.
(4) A. C. Mayer. 1966. p.109.

Members of Ego's action set may be aware of the other members of it, although they need not interact and their grounds for being attached to Ego may be quite different. They are not a category, because of the purposive nature of the action-set, which is common to all its members. Because action-sets arise for a purpose, they are non-permanent, unlike groups; their purpose achieved, their formative impulse is over. (For a long-term purpose, impossible of reasonably speedy fulfilment, an organised group, or association, of permanent, established character, is formed). It is most likely that, should the necessity arise to form a new action set later with another end in view, new linkages will be formed. However, some linkages may remain in active existence for "successive contexts of activity", and from these quasi-groups begin to emerge. (1) By thus "superimposing" a number of an individual's action sets, we can distinguish a hard core of persons whom Ego turns to regularly for help and support when needed, as well as those on the periphery of his circle who are only enlisted occasionally, and for specific purposes, remaining unconnected with other spheres of Ego's activity. Within "close-knit" kin networks Bott finds an even more intimate "nucleus of female kin" acting as organising force on occasions.(2) Epstein, too, makes the distinction between "effective" and "extended" members of a network, as I have described above. A. C. Mayer (3) calls the hard core of members from Ego's action sets (parallel to Bott's "potential membership" and Epstein's "effective network") the "quasi-group"; it does not have the permanence or organisation of a group, yet possesses some of its qualities in undeveloped form; by using a term such as "quasi-group" the qualitative differences between such a collection of people and a formal group is stressed. It is possible, of course, for such a quasi-group to develop over a period of time into a group, with series of linkages in its turn, in which case the group itself may become the central "Ego", rather than only one individual.

Finally, Mayer argues that it is in modern complex societies that the sort of economic and social organisation most likely to give rise to action sets

---

(1) Op cit. p.110.
(2) E. Bott., 1957. p.135.
(3) A. C. Mayer. 1966. p.115.

and, from them, to quasi-groups, will probably be found. He says:

> "....one might expect social relations in simpler societies to be more likely to be those of common group membership than they are in societies where there is a greater scatter of rôles." (1)

Since in simple societies common group membership is the basis of social organisation, it is the sub-group, rather than the action set, which tends to emerge for the achievement of a common purpose. Michael S. Olmsted's (2) description of three different types of primary group bonds may help us here; first, there are the "primordial", ties of kinship or neighbourhood, as found in simple, peasant societies. In this type of society, Mayer would hold, sub-groups spring up as actively purposeful units. Secondly, there are "personal" ties, purely voluntary, unlike the "primordial"; individual attachments due to personal likes. Groupings based on this force may arise within formal organisations: such groupings become Mayer's "action sets". Thirdly, Olmsted gives "ideological" ties, which exist between those holding common ideals and sharing a devotion towards them. These resemble "primordial" ties in that there is a reverence among participants for what holds them together, but they are also voluntary, as the purely "personal" ties are. This element of voluntariness may increase the likelihood of the emergence of action sets, rather than that of sub-groups.

A. W. Southall also maintains that small group analysis is a fruitful approach to the study of complex societies, although he admits the difficulties they present to the student owing to their fluidity and ever-changing patterns. Balancing this, however, he says:

> "....there may sometimes be more stability in the pattern of small group relations during periods of rapid change in which more formal structures are swept away." (3)

---

(1) Op.cit., p.119.
(2) M.S. Olmsted, 1959. pp. 58-59.
(3) A.W. Southall, 1961a. p. 25.

For a penetration into the substance of the fabric of social relations in complex societies, Southall finds that an approach through the small groupings, the corpuscles which keep the life-blood of social relationships stirring, goes deeper than the formal probing by interview and questionnaire:

> "....small group analysis of the type under discussion gives knowledge of the fabric of society which statistical sampling on a basis of formal question and interview alone can never provide." (1)

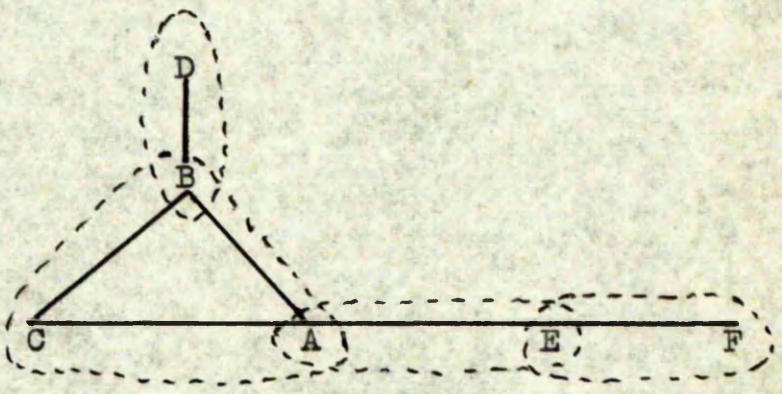
Southall appears to think of the "network" in the same way as Barnes, using it to cover a whole social field, not an ego-centred circle. Within the social field he finds that some individuals with large numbers of contacts become focal points ("concentrated local involvement") (2); they exert an influence because of this, and serve as representatives of that field of social relationships with which Southall is concerned, that of African migrant labour, in dealings with structures external to it, namely, European or Asian society, "big business", landowners, etc.

Within the "network" Southall distinguishes three different types of face-to-face relationship : structural, which occurs within the framework of an institution, such as factory or family; categorical, which arises when people who do not know each other really well meet informally; and egocentric - relationships based on mutual expectations arising from the individuals' personal knowledge of each other. (3) It would appear that these three types of relationship can occur to every individual in different social contexts. V. G. Pons (4), however, isolates two different types of social grouping, based on members' period of residence in a suburb, and on the difference between what Southall calls categorical and egocentric relationships. Pons' research was done in a poor African suburb in Stanleyville, in the Belgian Congo, where he found a mock formal association of six men, neighbours, whose personal ties were of several years' duration. They would meet, sometimes with wives/ guests, for celebrations such as Christmas, and spend their time drinking and

---

(1) Op cit. p. 26.
(2) A. W. Southall. 1961b. pp. 228-229.
(1) Op cit. p. 26.
(2) A. W. Southall. 1961b. pp. 228-229.
(3) A. W. Southall, 1961a. pp. 29-30.
(4) V. G. Pons. 1961. pp. 215-216.

joking together. Written invitations for such gatherings might be sent, although the participants met almost daily; and office-holders were elected, although the posts were only nominal. The three founders, A, B, and C, formed the inner clique of the 'club'; the President, D, bred in the district and better-educated than the others, was a friend of B, and his link with him was therefore stronger than those with A and C. A introduced his friend E, who, in turn, brought in his friend F; the E-F link was, therefore, stronger than the links A-E, A-F. Diagrammatically, Pons expresses this thus: (1)



The relationships of this 'club' are obviously egocentric, (used in Southall's sense of pre-existing relationships giving reasonably certain expectations of interpersonal behaviour) and differ qualitatively from those in the grouping Pons terms "Christine's 'Guests'". Christine was a shopkeeper and landlady, and her 'guests' were those who lingered in her house in the evenings, drinking, chatting, or playing the gramophone. These individuals had no pre-existing ties drawing them together; they were newcomers whose relations were of a fleeting and superficial kind. Not knowing each other intimately, their role expectations were based on established categories, e.g. of sex, age, or tribe; their relationships, therefore, would be classed by Southall as categorical. It seems uncertain, however, whether these two types of grouping are mutually exclusive; could they not be illustrative merely of different segments of any individual's social relationships? It is not clear from Pons' article whether the newcomers of whom he writes were from other parts of the town or rural areas, although he does say at the beginning of his account that the "in-out" movement so characteristic of the suburb was generally between different parts of the town, not a town-country two-way traffic. Whichever

(1) Op. cit. p.212.

was the case in this particular instance, it appears strange that there was no welcoming circle of fellow-tribesmen to greet the new arrivals; Southall, in a survey of highly urbanised and established Africans of Kisenyi, Kampala, comments:

> "Friendship is usually made with persons of the same tribe, but the number of cross-tribal friendships is considerable and certainly significant." (1)

If the social implications of tribalism can be evident for long-term urban residents, they are much more so for the new arrival, as Monica Wilson, in her account of group formation in Langa township, South Africa, has discovered. She terms the resulting grouping the "home-boy clique", and, in town, the links from the home district which bring members of such a clique together, are reinforced by economic and neighbourhood ties. Wilson goes so far as to say that a new arrival is automatically the member of a clique, and a conscious effort must be made by him to break away, should he so desire. (2)

It would appear doubtful that type of role expectations can be taken to indicate the length of an individual's period of residence in an area. Even well-established persons in an urban environment can be expected to have relationships of a categorical kind in some social contexts, e.g. inter-Church gatherings, meetings of Trades' Unions, etc. Southall emphasizes the "segmental" quality of modern, urban life (3), resulting in a dispersal of role relationships in space and time; and if there is little or no contact between the segments of an individual's social life, with action sets for any particular purpose being formed along the links in the relevant segment, how can an individual's circle of social contacts become enough of a mesh, an "interlaced structure", to be usefully termed a "network"? The term used in the appropriate sense of a "social field", while no doubt useful to describe the individual's enmeshed interlinkages in a small-scale society, must not be confused with the circle of distinct segments, separate socially and effectively, of members of complex, urban societies. Perhaps a distinction can be

---

(1) A. W. Southall. 1961b. p.219.
(2) M. Wilson. 1964. pp. 3-4.
(3) A. W. Southall, 1961b. p.227.

(2)
(3)

made between 'network' and 'social field' by restricting the application of the latter term to 'sub-networks' or segments of social interaction based on differing criteria, e.g. politics, kinship, while retaining 'network' to indicate the whole 'mesh' of social relationships. In this respect, the Indian student's contacts are especially interesting; they show what sort of social grouping a migrant, short-term at least in intention, builds up: how many links are maintained from home, or instituted through his ties originating there, and in what other social spheres he may become active while in Britain.

There are certain special factors which affect the spread and formation of the Indian student's social relationships in Britain, which make his situation in this respect different from that of the situations so far described: an island parish in Norway; working and middle-class homes in an English urban environment; African migrant labour; and political parties in central India. The "network" concept has been used in all these contexts, and individual adjustments and additions have had to be made to it to adapt it to any particular case. The factors mentioned above mean that it is necessary to follow through further ramifications of the "social network" concept to discover in what format it can subsume the Indian student's social contacts.

Firstly, when he arrives, the student's aim is temporary residence only, for about three years. Any European friends he makes are obviously likely to be transitory, since contact is likely to be broken when he returns home. Generally, only friendships with co-regionalists will survive the return home, although it is of course possible that acquaintance with those from other parts of India may be revived from time to time. The consciousness of the temporary nature of many of these friendships may affect their depth and effectiveness.

Secondly, the vast majority of Indian students coming to Britain are by religion Hindus, or Muslims. This means that contact through the British churches or other religious groups is minimal; the Muslims, of course, have their own mosques, but attendance here is unlikely to affect their British acquaintances. Indian Christians benefit more from welfare and social services of religious organisations, but few of them appear to become attached to a local parish church, where they might become a part of Christian community life. They may wander about, from one church to another, from one denomination to another, making wide but superficial contacts with each congregation.

Thirdly, unlike the temporary African migrant, the Indian student does not live with his compatriots in an area set aside for them, or where they have gravitated of their own volition; he is at liberty to move to any part of the city which appeals to him, or which he, personally, can afford. In view of this, it is interesting that there are areas of London, especially in the north-west, where Indian students and professionals tend to congregate. (1) In spite of this, they are, indeed, because of pressure on accommodation, must be, scattered; but the tendency is rather to make a journey to meet a co-regionalist rather than make friends locally. This, however, is true of a substantial number of city-dwellers; the residential unit is of relatively low effectiveness in the making of friends, as opposed to place of work or study. This is especially true of temporary lodgers in an urban area. This tendency increases the likelihood of a segmentary circle of social acquaintance for the students.

Fourthly, the student's co-regionalist friends are not necessarily members of his College, or his University, where he will be spending his working time. He will make contacts at College, with students of nationalities or areas other than his own, but these will have nothing to do with the co-regionalist group. Through such contacts he may join various student clubs and unions, and even rise to an official position within them, but such activities remain within the social segment concerned.

Fifthly, the Indian student or professional man is likely to make more contacts with British society than his labouring compatriot, partly because of

---

(1) Hamza A. Alavi, quoted in Immigrants in London, edited by Sheila Patterson, 1963, p.54, isolates Kensington and Hampstead as being areas of high Pakistani student density. Since these areas are pleasant, have large numbers of bedsitters and flats available, and are convenient for many of the colleges of the University, there seems no reason why they should not be as popular with Indians as Pakistanis. I have indicated myself, (Ch.II, p.66) the propensity of Indian students to live within walking distance of college, or at least only about ten minutes travelling time from it. In the above-mentioned pamphlet edited by Mrs. Patterson, p.30, we find the conclusion: "....there are substantial numbers of African and Asian students in Notting Hill, Paddington, and, more recently, Brixton." Considering that the largest number of overseas students comes from India, we may be sure that they are fairly represented in these areas.

the social class to which he belongs. G. S. Aurora describes at length how much of the Indian worker's leisure time is spent among his compatriots (1), and distinguishes between the educated Indian worker, whose knowledge of English is better than that of his fellows, and who is more receptive to Western customs and manners, and the worker who is reliant upon a bilingual compatriot to get him his job, and then teach it to him: "Some of the educated workers have British friends as well, but usually the contact between the white people and the Indians is very scanty indeed." (2) The linguistic factor is obviously a decisive one in the achieving of friendly contacts, and Aurora notes the tendency towards aggregation in certain firms, so that Indian workers with poor, or no, English, will not feel isolated: "Thus most factories give Indians such jobs as require least contact with white labour.....The Indian workers who are unable to speak English prefer to work in the concerns where a large number of their compatriots work. This is natural since otherwise they would feel greatly handicapped and lonely....In most cases the non-English speaking worker gets employment through somebody who is already working in one of the factories." (3) This situation may be contrasted with that in factories where Indian workers are few: "Most of the Indians speak English fairly fluently....They mix freely with their white colleagues and participate in all their conversations, whether they be on football, horses or dogs." (4) The increased opportunities for making social contacts provided by a knowledge of English and an educational standard which broadens the mind and promotes tolerance and understanding of different customs and values, become evident even among Indian workers, as Dr. Desai points out:

> "University education, a knowledge of English and the understanding of new patterns of behaviour do not necessarily lead to sexual relationships but only to an increased possibility of all kinds of contacts. Thus a person....may have closer and friendlier contact with his workmates. He may get

---

(1) G. S. Aurora. 1960. Ch.V.
(2) Ibid. p.149.
(3) Ibid. p.152.
(4) Ibid. p.154.

> into the habit of going to the pub with English friends. He may learn to participate in sports and other leisure-time activities. He may join evening classes for further study." (1)

Since a knowledge of English and a fair standard of education can help the Indian workers to make friendly contacts with their English work-mates, we can expect the student to find communication with his fellows correspondingly easier, since his English must be reasonably good, and he belongs to a minority educated class which is an elite everywhere in the world. Students at a University must have something in common, even if it is only the particular subjects they have chosen to study. It is also possible, by reason of the broader world-view that education brings, that many of them will have a greater interest in foreign countries and foreign nationals than workers who are unlikely to have such personal contact with overseas in their jobs. Recreational activities and social clubs are established solely for students, where all nationalities are welcome and can mingle freely. Even so, as A. K. Singh (2) has pointed out, cultural difficulties make it hard to establish an easy-going friendship, and many students find it a strain to continue lengthy conversations in English, although their written command of the language may be quite good. Still others concentrate on their studies, and make no effort towards inter-cultural contacts. A. K. Singh quotes one student at Oxford as saying:

> "I am afraid I have very little that you call social life here. I have contacts with some friends, but as all of them are associated with me in work in the laboratory, even our social contact is half-academic." (3)

Singh does show, however, that the longer a student stays in Britain, the more British friends he accumulates; indeed, those who stayed over three years actually decreased the number of their Indian friends, while increasing their British ones. (4) Even so, the paths of these friends rarely cross in a social context.

---

(1) R. H. Desai, 1963. p.144.
(2) A. K. Singh, 1961. pp. 98-100.
(3) Ibid., p.100.
(4) Ibid., pp. 103-104.

These points illustrate the differences between the Indian students' social situation and those of the seven examples of the use of the terms "network" and "social field" quoted. Are we to use "social network" for the whole social field, as Barnes does, implying a pattern of social relationships without leader, without central point, without boundary; or as Epstein uses the term, meaning Ego's personal relationships with others, "extended" or "effective", resulting in an Ego-centred network, which owes its existence, and its existence in any particular form, directly to Ego? Even this is not satisfactory, for Epstein says that the members of Ego's "effective" network, those with whom he most frequently interacts, know each other; this is not so with the Indian student, for he may have a group of close co-regionalist friends who are quite unknown to the group of college friends, some of them Westerners, perhaps, with whom he daily interacts. Action sets may be formed along any of these segments of interaction, but will have no relevance outside their particular sphere. This grouping is better described as a segmented, ego-radial, non-permanent friendship circle. It is non-permanent since each segment is constantly changing, by quarrels, or by removal from proximity, etc. of individual members. Again, with the departure of Ego, his circle will disperse; while a part of some segment may hold together (say his co-regionalists) it will be in a different form with subtle shifts of emphasis and expectations owing to Ego's withdrawal. In what clear-cut, distinctive way can we evaluate the friendship circle's different formations?

I suggest taking the symbol X to indicate the friendship circle as a whole, since it is an unknown quantity, entirely dependent on the personal characteristics and inclinations of each individual Ego. We can then take letters of the alphabet to denote the different character of each segment, according to a plan, viz:

aX = kinship segment
bX = formal co-regionalist association segment
cX = informal co-regionalist contacts
dX = college segment
eX = work segment
fX = accommodation segment
gX = religious association segment
hX = wife's kin segment

iX = all-India club segment

jX = other (chance acquaintance, or through hospitalisation, travel abroad, etc.)

Through the use of such symbols, it is easy to describe concisely and quickly any student's friendship circle. For instance, if we take the diagram of student 1, it can be expressed thus: a + b + c + d + e + f + h = X. This can be made the more explicit through the use of brackets (1) to denote interlinkages between segments, the bracketed ones being connected:

$$(a + b + c + f) + d + e + h = X.$$

Similarly, Case 2 is shown thus:

$$c + e + (d + g) + f + j = X.$$

Taking the segment symbols, bracketed or unbracketed, as the function (F) of Ego's friendship circle, we can express each case concisely as follows, numbering them in sequence:

X 1 = F [(a + b + c + f), d, e, h]
X 2 = F [c, e, (d + g), f, j]
X 3 = F [d,(c + f)]
X 4 = F [(e + h), (g + f), (d + c + i + f)]
X 5 = F [(d + h), (c + f), f, e]
X 6 = F [(c + f + b), e, j, (d + f), h]
X 7 = F [(f + j), f, e, (d + e), h, i]
X 8 = F [(f + c), (d + c), e, h, f]
X 9 = F [(c + f), f, a, e, d, i]
X 10 = F [a, e, (b + c), j]
X 11 = F [(a + f + c), (d + f + g)]
X 12 = F [(b + a), (a + f), f, e, (b + c), d]
X 13 = F [(c + f + b), (b + h + a), e, d]
X 14 = F [(a + b + c), (e + f), j]
X 15 = F [(a + f), (b + c + a), d]

---

(1) All algebraic connotations regarding the use of symbols and brackets must be shelved, otherwise they will only be misleading in this connection.

X 16 = F [(b + c), f, g, (d + b + c), d, e]
X 17 = F [(c + d), d, f, j]
X 18 = F [(d + i + c), (c + b), c, d, f]
X 19 = F [(c + b), (c + d), d, f, h, e]
X 20 = F [(d, (f + c + b), (c + b), j]
X 21 = F [(d + c), (c + f), d]
X 22 = F [(c + b + f), (h + a), e, d]
X 23 = F [(c + b), h, a, (e + f), i]
X 24 = F [(d + c), f, d, e, (g + f), a]
X 25 = F [(d + f), d, e, (a + f), j, c]
X 26 = F [(c + b), (c + f), d, g]
X 27 = F [(c + f + b + h + e), j]
X 28 = F [(h, e, (c + b + f), d, j]
X 29 = F [(a + c + b), d, f]
X 30 = F [(c + b + f + g), d, j]

I have tabulated these symbols overleaf to show the extent of interlinkage between friendship circle segments, and the segments which are most frequently linked.

The table below sets out the total number of appearances of each type of segment-connection in the thirty case studies, contrasted with total occurrences of each symbol, whether singly or as part of a bracketed group:

TABLE IX.

Symbol	1) Total no. of appearances	2) Total no. of single appearances	3) Total no. of appearances in bracketed groups
a	15	4	11
b	22	0	22
c	37	3	34
d	33	19	14
e	21	16	5
f	39	12	27
g	7	2	5
h	12	7	5
i	5	3	2
j	11	10	1

TABLE X. FRIENDSHIP CIRCLE SEGMENT INTERLINKAGES.

Symbol	a	b	c	d	e	f	g	h	i	j	Total No. of Interlinkages*
a	-	6	5	0	0	5	0	2	0	0	18
b	6	-	19	1	1	8	1	2	0	0	38
c	5	19	-	8	1	16	1	1	2	0	51
d	0	1	8	-	1	4	2	1	2	0	18
e	0	1	1	1	-	3	0	2	0	0	8
f	5	8	16	4	3	-	4	1	1	1	43
g	0	1	1	2	0	4	-	0	0	0	8
h	2	2	1	1	2	1	0	-	0	0	9
i	0	0	2	2	0	1	0	0	-	0	5
j	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	-	1

*The total number of <u>group</u> appearances for each symbol as shown on the previous page does not tally with the total number of its interlinkages with other symbols, since more than one interlinkage may occur within one bracketed group.

These tables indicate the urgency of finding suitable accommodation, and the part played by the recommendation and advice of friends (chiefly co-regionalist, but some made through College) in this search.

As might be expected, the formal co-regionalist association contacts are always interlinked, wherever they occur, and 19 times out of the 22 with the informal co-regionalist contacts. Naturally enough, the college segment is prominent, reference being made to it 33 times, though out of these it appears in bracketed groups only 14, 8 of these being with co-regionalists informally, 4 with accommodation. Reference to a religious association occurs only 7 times, and appears in bracketed groups 5 times, four of them being in connection with accommodation, which indicates that the religious associations help their adherents in a practical way, especially on arrival.

This analysis bears out the fact that kinship ties play a relatively small part in the total social field of these students and professionals. They are mentioned only in 15 cases, and occur in bracketed groups 11 times, in 5 cases being connected with accommodation, again denoting a practical use of the kin tie where it exists. When kin are present, they are often linked with Ego's formal and informal co-regionalist contacts. Even contacts made through work, whether this be full-time after qualification, or vacation jobs, are utilised in the search for accommodation, for out of the total of 5 appearances in bracketed groups which the work segment makes, three are with the accommodation sector.

It is obvious that all individuals must show some contacts through accommodation, since all must have somewhere to live. Likewise, all students will make social contacts through college. In these two sectors, then, individual choice is minimised quantitatively, although qualitatively there will be variations according to the individual's personal inclinations towards extending or curtailing relationships in these segments.

TABLE XI. BREAKDOWN OF SEGMENT REPRESENTATION IN 30 CASE STUDIES.

Case No.	a	b	c	d	e	f	g	h	i	j	Total segm. rep.
1	(1)	(1)	(1)	1	1	(1)		1			7
2			1	(1)	1	1	(1)			1	6
3			(1)	1		(1)					3
4			(1)	(1)	(1)	(2)	(1)	(1)	(1)		7
5			(1)	(1)	1	2(1)		(1)			5
6		(1)	(1)	(1)	1	(2)		1		1	7
7				(1)	2(1)	2(1)		1	1	(1)	6
8			(2)	(1)	1	2(1)		1			5
9	1		(1)	1	1	2(1)			1		6
10	1	(1)	(1)		1					1	5
11	(1)		(1)	(1)		(2)	(1)				5
12	(2)	(2)	(1)	1	1	2(1)					6
13	(1)	(2)	(1)	1	1	(1)		(1)			7
14	(1)	(1)	(1)		(1)	(1)				1	6
15	(2)	(1)	(1)	1		(1)					5
16		(2)	(2)	2(1)	1	1	1				6
17			(1)	2(1)		1				1	4
18		(1)	3(2)	2(1)		1			(1)		5
19		(1)	(2)	2(1)	1	1		1			6
20		(2)	(2)	1		(1)				1	5
21			(2)	2(1)		(1)					3
22	(1)	(1)	(1)	1	1	(1)		(1)			7
23	1	(1)	(1)		(1)	(1)		1	1		7
24	1		(1)	2(1)	1	2(1)	(1)				6
25	(1)		1	2(1)	1	(2)				1	6
26		(1)	(2)	1		(1)	1				5
27		(1)	(1)		(1)	(1)		(1)		1	6
28		(1)	(1)	1	1	(1)		1		1	7
29	(1)	(1)	(1)	1		1					5
30		(1)	(1)	1		(1)	(1)			1	6

Average number of segment appearances: 5.6%

TOTALS:	a	b	c	d	e	f	g	h	i	j
A	13	18	29	26	20	29	7	12	5	11
B	11	22	34	14	5	27	5	5	2	1
C	4	0	3	12	16	12	2	7	3	10

Total A = total number of case studies in which each symbol appears: maximum possible - 30.

Total B = total number of bracketed appearances of each symbol

Total C = total number of unbracketed appearances of each symbol

---

Key to Table:-

Brackets round a figure indicate that the symbol appears in a bracketed group, e.g. (1) = a single appearance in a bracketed group; (2) = two appearances, both in bracketed groups, and so on. Figures unbracketed indicate single, unlinked appearances of symbols.

A bracketed figure following an unbracketed one shows the number of linked appearances of a symbol in a case study out of the total number of appearances, e.g. 3(2) shows that, out of a total of 3 appearances, two are linked with other symbols.

The final column, headed "Total segm. rep." shows how widely spread is each student's friendship circle, and indicates into how many spheres of activity his social relationships lead him.

The above table shows that the spheres of social activity most widely utilised by these students are those connected with accommodation, college, occupation, informal co-regionalist contacts, and with the formal regional/linguistic associations. Of these it is significant that the last two show the greatest number of interlinkages, and, as can be seen from Table X (p.176) these are chiefly with each other. Hence a reinforcing of co-regionalist ties

may be expected from the association membership. Further emphasis comes from the fact that kinship ties, when they exist, are most frequently linked with these two spheres, as well as that of accommodation. The element of individual choice is important here, as the student is not thrust daily into the company of co-regionalists unless he so wishes. While 18 of the 30 case studies chose to join a formal regional/linguistic association, only five deliberately chose to broaden their acquaintance among Indian students in general by joining all-India clubs.

The usefulness of co-regionalist ties is reflected in their links with the accommodation segment; such contact is both urgent and important, since a student is adversely or beneficially affected by his living conditions and those surrounding him. Lodgings recommended by a co-regionalist are felt to be most likely to prove agreeable.

Significant those spheres of social activity showing positive interlinkage tendencies, and frequency of appearance, may be; but equally interesting are those spheres which figure infrequently in the students' friendship circles, and those which show a greater tendency to isolation - these are not necessarily the same: for instance, we find only 7 case studies with contacts made specifically through a formal religious association, but five of these are interlinked with other spheres of social activity. In only five cases is the all-India club segment significant: three of these contacts remain isolated, 2 are interlinked, an insignificant difference. When we consider casual contacts, however, (those made at dances, in pubs, etc.) we find them forming an almost completely isolated segment; only one link can be traced, with an accommodation segment. Such contacts Barnes would call purely personal, or 'idiosyncratic' (1). Such idiosyncratic relationships, he suggests, are more common in "the relatively sparse urban network" than in a dense network such as the tribal; they help to fill up gaps in the former (2). It is not surprising that over 33% of the cases studied show such 'idiosyncratic' relationships when the urban and alien environment is taken into consideration.

---

(1) J. A. Barnes, 1969. p. 74.

(2) Ibid. p.75.

Sheila Webster (1) has illustrated the loneliness experienced by some students, and gives it as her opinion that there is more stress on informal, casual friendly meetings for the overseas student at Oxford and Cambridge than in London, where there are more formal clubs, and greater travelling difficulties and expense. This appears questionable, in view of the evidence above of the strength of co-regionalist ties which figure so frequently and spontaneously in the Indian students' life. Sheila Webster was dealing chiefly with negro students, and their position may be different; generalisations on the social life of coloured students as a category cannot be made.

The 30 case studies analysed in detail above, and set out schematically, are indeed few in comparison with the thousands of Indians studying in U.K.; but to discover, interview and analyse a sample of the Indian students and professionals at present studying in London, which is defensibly proportionately representative, is a task beyond one researcher with severely restricted funds. Not only are the numbers involved large, but they are also not accurately ascertainable. Even in a small number, certain definite trends will occur, and when these are relatively consistent among students from different areas, of different religions and languages, studying a variety of subjects at different colleges, it seems fair to assume that such trends are significant. The co-regional tie is just such a trend, informally expressed within the friendship circles described above, and formally in the regional associations with which some students and professionals become involved administratively, while still more use their facilities to make social contacts or to celebrate traditional festivals, even if only once a year. The subtle influence of such associations, with their functions as reservoirs of news of co-regionalists here and in India, and as spreaders of gossip, a powerful social sanction both here and in India, may be hard to measure, but it is there, even for the casual visitor. Their continued existence indicates that they fulfil a need, and in the following chapter I shall examine their structure and functioning, and try to discover what this need is, how the formal associations work to satisfy it, and what place the informal co-regionalist friendship cliques have within the formal framework.

---

(1) Shaila Webster, 1954? pp. 176 ff.

CHAPTER V - SOCIAL ORGANISATION II - THE FORMAL ASSOCIATION

From the informal, spontaneous friendship circles which enmesh each student or professional, we shall move to a study of the formal associations existing in London to which he may choose to give support. This element of choice in the joining of associations is important. An Indian student or professional man can remain remote from such organisations throughout his stay in Britain without suffering any deprivation, but it is impossible to avoid formation of some sort of friendship circle, however limited. Case 3 is a case in point. He kept his social contacts to a basic minimum throughout his two-year stay in London, and his friendship circle is one of the least extensive in the sample. Yet it did form around him, even though he deliberately avoided formal associations. This is not to say that a man does not choose his friends, but only that each friendship circle is an ego-centred group in its precise form, determined by the individual at its centre. The formal association, in contrast, has a corporate existence independent of Ego; it does not arise or disintegrate according to his presence or absence.

Before attempting a detailed description of the formal associations established and maintained largely by Indian expatriate professionals and students in London, it is necessary to examine the use of the term "formal association", and to point out what is understood by it in this study.

P. M. Blau (1) has distinguished between "intrinsic" and "extrinsic" attraction between persons forming an association. "Intrinsic" benefits may arise from liking another person purely for himself, as in a love relationship; there is clearly a great difference between this type of association and one which offers what Blau terms "extrinsic" benefits of, say, advice or money. Such "intrinsic" and "extrinsic" attraction appears to parallel Tönnies's concepts of gemeinschaft and gesellschaft (2), the former being based on the "natural will" the latter on "rational will". A friendship group may form because of the value of the relationship itself, thus arising from the "natural will", or, as Blau would put it, from "intrinsic" attraction. On the other hand, a group of people may come together in pursuit of a common end, to which the wider society may be indifferent or even hostile; this is a

---

(1) P. M. Blau, 1964. p. 20.
(2) F. Tönnies, 1955. p. 17.

result of "rational will", or Blau's "extrinsic" attraction. Tönnies is careful to point out, however, that human actions and aims can seldom, if ever, be so clearly demarcated; his gemeinschaft and gesellschaft are ideal forms which cannot exist in so clear-cut a way in any society. (1) Even so, these concepts can help us in differentiating the informal friendship contacts we have been considering and the formal associations, although "intrinsic" benefits can occur between members of a formal organisation, arising from face-to-face relationships within it.

Ginsberg (2) has pointed out that association members may join from dissimilar or even conflicting motives; and that, while the chief purpose of an association is known by its members, there may be other purposes of varying importance imperfectly grasped by individual members. He distinguishes between "institution" and "association", the former being "forms or modes of social relationship", such as war, or marriage, whereas an association represents "individuals in union", such as an army, or a married couple:

> "An association may be defined as a group of individuals united for a specific purpose or purposes and held together by recognised or sanctioned modes of procedure and behavior." (3)

The mushrooming growth and spread of associations is one of the most striking phenomena of modern life, and so diverse and complex are their aims and purposes that however groupings are attempted, there is bound to be considerable overlap in function. Ogburn and Nimkoff note this proliferation (4) which they attribute to increased specialisation and differentiation. Widely assorted and numerous associations are a characteristic of urban complex societies since "In small communities....if there were many associations there would be much duplication of membership." (5)

Gerth and Mills (6) agree that to classify an association according to its main function is to give an incomplete image of the whole. They use the

---

(1) Op.cit. p. 17.
(2) Morris Ginsberg. 1935. p. 285.
(3) Ibid. p.284.
(4) W. F. Ogburn and M. F. Nimkoff, 1950. p. 364.
(5) Ibid. p.365.
(6) H. H. Gerth and C. W. Mills, 1961. p.24.

term "institution" for Ginsberg's "association"; for instance, a monastery they consider an institution, of which the primary function is a religious one, though a subsidiary economic function of liqueur or perfume manufacture should not be overlooked. While monasticism may well be an institution, a collection of monks in a monastery is clearly an association in Ginsberg's sense. Gerth and Mills suggest three criteria for classification of "institutions": a) size; b) means of recruitment, i.e. voluntary or compulsory; c) objective function. They note the possibility of overlap in function, and the impossibility of clear-cut divisions.

R. M. MacIver (1) describes an association as: "....an organisation of social beings (or a body of social beings as organised) for the pursuit of some common interest or interests." Such common interests, he agrees, are multiplex, and therefore hard to classify (2).

Blau and Scott have attempted (3) to categorize broadly the different types of formal organization. They isolate four major types, (mutual - benefit associations, business concerns, service organizations and commonweal organizations) of which that of the mutual benefit association is most useful here: the membership is meant as the primary beneficiary, and under this heading may be subsumed such organizations as trade unions, professional associations, clubs, etc. Active running of such associations is usually left in the hands of a minority, the majority being content to enjoy the benefits with the minimum of effort. Such a situation raises difficulties in the maintenance of democratic control, and it has been suggested that the most effective means of preserving this is to have two active factions, recognised and accepted within the organisation.

It is clear that cultural associations, such as the regional and linguistic associations we are going to examine in this chapter, belong to the broad category of mutual-benefit associations, and we shall see how the problem of democratic control, linked with action-set formation within the associations, is worked out, effectively or otherwise.

---

(1) R. M. MacIver, 1924. p. 23.
(2) Ibid. p.111.
(3) Peter M. Blau and W. Richard Scott, 1962. p. 45ff.

Kingsley Davis, like Ogburn and Nimkoff quoted above, sees the urban environment as especially favourable for the formation of voluntary associations. (1) In the urban mass, an individual voice cannot be heard, but the spokesman for an organised group can speak with authority, therefore: "The group must organise or its cause will perish." (2) Although the individual can escape the bonds of his primary group, such as family, village, etc., in the city, he will not be emotionally secure without its replacement by some other type of primary group, such as gang, friendship circle, etc., however voluntary membership of it may be (3). Considering the fact that the Indian student has been forced to leave his primary groupings six thousand miles away, even though it may be far from his desire to do so, the spontaneous formation of associations, which can replace to some extent home and family, is only to be expected. The voluntary character of membership of such associations is obviously different from that of organizations such as College or University, or even Students' Union, to which the student must belong if he wishes to pursue a certain course of study.

Florence Mishnun defines the voluntary association as: "....an unincorporated group of persons organised for some common purpose." (4). Such an association may be formed for profit, for social, charitable, or other non-commercial ends, and comes into being by the will of its members. Burton Benedict points out (5) that the much-quoted "voluntariness" of these associations is a crucial point in their definition; it is best explained by saying that the individual member has to take the initiative in joining. He has summed up concisely four criteria of such an association, as he uses the term in his study of Muslim and Buddhist associations in London:
a) specificity of purpose; b) periodicity of meeting; c) voluntary membership; d) internal structure. (There are two factors essential to this last: 1) a set of norms having supporting sanctions; 2) a system of status differentiation. (6)). These two factors are found in other types of grouping, too, but in

---

(1) Kingsley Davis, 1949. p.333.
(2) Ibid. p.334.
(3) Ibid. p.331.
(4) Florence Mishnun, 1935. p.283.
(5) Burton Benedict, 1954. p.441.
(6) Ibid. p.7.

associations they are coupled with specificity of purpose, since an association is formed with the fulfilment of particular ends in view. In view of this, Benedict feels the purpose of an association should be clearly stated and defined (1), for classification is generally made according to the declared purpose (2). Being organised for a specific purpose leads to regular constant meetings, and if such meetings are sufficiently constant and intimate, they can appear representative more of Tonnies' gemeinschaft concept than the gesellschaft which is to be expected in a voluntary formal association (3).

Warner and Miller have isolated two types of voluntary organisation, consummatory and instrumental, according to these three basic factors:
a) whether the ends served are internal to the group or external to it;
b) whether achievement of these ends is immediate or deferred;
c) whether members or non-members are intended to be the primary beneficiaries.
The consummatory type of voluntary association is one in which the chief ends of the organization lie in its existence and activities, thus leading to immediate gratification of interests for its primary beneficiaries, its own members.
The instrumental type has its primary ends outside the group, to be achieved through its activity, in which case gratification of interest has to be worked for and is therefore less immediate, while the chief beneficiaries are non-members. (4)

Even with this definition, Warner and Miller admit that no hard and fast line can be drawn between the two types. To some extent, all associations are both ends in themselves and means to ends, but it is possible to classify them according to whether they are predominantly one or the other.

While it is clear that the regional-linguistic associations we shall be dealing with belong mainly to the consummatory type, since members enjoy the benefits of comradeship and fellow-feeling immediately through the meetings of the association, and this is the primary aim, yet a form of instrumental

---

(1) Burton Benedict, op. cit., p.439.
(2) Ibid., p.440.
(3) Ibid., p.440.
(4) W. Keith Warner and Sidney J. Miller, 1963-64. p. 654ff.

activity can arise within the main consummatory purpose, as, for instance, when monetary help was instigated and, in effect, organised by Maharashtra Mandal at a time of severe flooding near Poona.

Voluntary associations and migrant groups

These few definitions of the association in general, and the voluntary association in particular, indicate the type of organisation dealt with in this chapter; and we have seen that the urban environment is especially favourable to the formation of the latter. It appears that the more educated section of a community, relative though this may be, is more likely to prove a category of "joiners" of voluntary associations than the less-educated and unskilled. F. Dotson agrees with the finding that urban dwellers have a predisposition to form associations:

> "The close, intimate and continuous associations characteristic of the inclusive primary group commonly give way in the city....to intermittent participation in a series of discontinuous groups, most of which are formally and impersonally organised about a single, specific interest." (1)

and goes on to observe that participation in formally-organized associations is not consistent at all social levels within the urban community: "....the higher a person's income and class status the greater his social participation."(2)

Babchuk and Thompson (3) in their study of the voluntary associations of negroes in Lincoln, Nebraska agree that voluntary associations are mostly supported by the middle-classes. Their sample totalled 120, of which 30% were non-manual workers, 36.7% skilled workers, and 33.3% unskilled workers. Of these non-manual workers, 81% were members of associations, 80% of the skilled were, while only 65% of the unskilled workers were "joiners". A positive relation between higher education, income and occupation, and membership of associations, was established, although it is also true that a higher percentage of working-class negroes than comparable whites were association members. Babchuk and Thompson agree with Myrdal's suggestion as

---

(1) F. Dotson, 1951. p.687.
(2) Ibid., p.688.
(3) Nicholas Babchuk and Ralph V. Thompson, 1962. p.647ff.

explanation of this, namely: negroes tend to join associations more often than socially comparable whites because their areas of participation in American life as a whole are more limited. Such associations provide opportunities for competition for responsible positions, for administrative experience, and the exercise of power and leadership, which they cannot expect in the total society. This explanation will be seen to have relevance later when the functions of the Indian regional/linguistic associations are considered.

Sklare and Vosk, in their comparative study of first, second and third generation Jewish immigrants in a U.S. town, agree that likelihood of joining voluntary associations increases with higher social status. In their community they found a higher number of professionals than is usual in U. S. towns, and Jews of this social level were enthusiastic "joiners", 82% belonging to the 40 Jewish organisations in the town (1).

J. M. Mogey, in a comparison of two areas of Oxford, the old-established working-class area of St. Ebbe's and the new housing estate of Barton, finds a greater willingness to establish and join voluntary associations in the latter than in the former. While one cannot overlook the fact that such voluntary associations are to some extent a replacement of the old kinship and neighbourhood ties of St. Ebbes by people transplanted to a new environment (and the same might be said of the Indian students and professionals too), Mogey notes another variable which, he suggests, reinforces the tendency: namely, the higher standard of living of the housing estate which leads to greater social confidence in selection of friends (2). He differentiates between the two settings in these words:

> "Characteristic of St. Ebbe's is assent without anxiety, with no interest and little consciousness of position in the society at large. The signs of a different social outlook in Barton are the emphasis on the individual family and the ability and willingness to form friendships and to join in voluntary associations." (3)

---

(1) Marshall Sklare and Marc Vosk, 1957. p.8.
(2) J. M. Mogey, 1956. p.96.
(3) Ibid., p.156.

Kuper and Kaplan have described the need for voluntary association membership among uprooted urban Africans in South Africa. Owing to the political scene, the urban African must have these associations in order to express himself as a social being; he is restricted by law from playing a full part in the society as a whole; avenues of competition, influence and power open to the white man, such as trade unions and political parties, are largely closed to him (1). Though his associations may be outwardly mutual-benefit savings clubs, their social function between neighbours and friends goes much deeper and is of at least equal importance. Helena Lopata has provided an enlightening analysis of the functions voluntary associations may have in an immigrant community, namely, the Poles in the United States. They are a firmly established immigrant body, and the character of their associations has changed over the years. Originally founded with the aim of maintaining ties with Poland, and as mutual-aid groups in an alien environment, since the 1920s they have concentrated on increasing the community's participation in U.S. society in two ways: by urging Poles to use their abilities for the general good, and by bringing pressure on Government and public opinion to raise Polish prestige and power in the United States (2). Such Polish-American associations, "for economic, companionate and prestige purposes", do fulfil certain needs felt by some immigrants which are left unsatisfied in other societies, membership of which is open to all Americans. Lopata quotes one informant's explanation: "I'd rather be a big fish in here than a nobody out there" (3) Within the national association there is no initial handicap to prestigeful advancement, such as immigrant status, or colour. Lopata's material suggests that a high position in the national associations can increase status in the wider American society too, especially in the political field, where the chief function is status-seeking (4). This has happened only since the associations have turned their attention to raising the position of the Polish community in American society; and, as the Indian regional associations which we shall examine are still self-centred and, in practice, regionally and linguistically

---

(3) Hilda Kuper and Selma Kaplan, 1944. p. 178 ff.
(4) H. Z. Lopata, 1964. pp.220-221.
(3) Ibid., p. 216.
(4) Ibid., p.223.

exclusive, functioning chiefly for companionate and cultural ends, the prestige of their officers in the host society is largely unaffected by positions held within the associations. I know of only one case of a student considering whether to make the effort of standing for an official position in his regional association with a view to its helping him to a good job afterwards. As the post he wanted was a University lectureship, he was persuaded that the official position, even if he were to win it, would have but little effect on his hoped-for appointment. He therefore decided it was not worth marshalling the forces from which he had hopes of gaining support, for he replied to a query as to his motives: "Oh, I don't care about the association; I only thought the position of President or Secretary might help me in applying for the job." Prestige within the linguistic group is a different matter; this is increased through holding office in the regional association, and the candidate must have a reasonable following within the association before he can muster sufficient support to stand for election.

From these studies of voluntary associations and their members, we can isolate certain characteristics which predispose the Indian professionals in Britain to join such organizations:

a) They are of middle-class status, the class which produces the most "joiners" of voluntary associations;

b) They have moved from one culture to an alien one, and wish to retain links with their own cultural background;

c) They are hindered from taking part fully in the host society, partly because of the transient nature of many of them, partly because of immigrant status, language and cultural differences, and partly because of colour, which marks them off as obviously "foreign".

d) The primary kin group is left behind, so that there is a vacuum on the "face-to-face" level of social communication which co-regionalist friends from the association may fill;

e) The urban environment itself is an encouragement to the formation and joining of these associations.

One or another, or several, of these factors, depending on the character and inclination of the individual, may influence the Indian student or professional in joining a voluntary association.

A revised and abbreviated list of Indian organisations of the U.K., issued by the Indian High Commission in 1963 classified them into three groups: religious, social and cultural, and workers' associations. (See below for tabulation of such lists.)

TABLE XII. - INDIAN ORGANISATIONS IN U.K. (1st May, 1961)

	C	P	S	R	S/C	IWA	St.	Sea
London	1	4	1	11	15	2	7	1
North and Midlands				7	21	7	7	4
S. England				2	2	3	3	1
Wales				1	1		1	
Scotland				1	4		2	1
Ireland					1			

TABLE XIII. - ABRIDGED LIST 1963.

	R	S/C	IWA
London	4	3	1
North and Midlands	6	13	10
S. England	1	2	3
Wales	1	1	
Scotland	1	2	
Ireland		1	

TABLE XIV. - REVISED LIST - received 1970.

	R	S/C	P/S	IWA
London		8	1	
North and Midlands	7	17		6
S. England	1	4		
Wales				
Scotland	2	4	2	
Ireland		1		

Key: R = religious; S/C = socio-cultural; IWA = Indian Workers' Associations; P/S = professional/student; Sea = Seamen's clubs; St. = student associations; S = sporting; P = professional; C = commercial.

Of the 13 religious associations given, 10 are Sikh gurudwara, only one of these being in London. In the social/cultural section, no regional associations are listed in the revised version, although 6 of them are given in the original full one, even though the addresses given, usually those of the current secretaries, are obviously quickly out of date. The lack of permanent premises for these associations makes it difficult to contact the officials, and to keep track of them.

The most recent revised list of associations, received from India House in 1970, lists at least eight regionally-based ones (quite definitely an incomplete total), of which 5 are Punjabi. It is probable that some of the all India clubs listed have a regional bias in membership and/or administration; later I shall describe an all-India Student Organisation in London to show how this can happen.

The social/cultural section includes East-West friendship and cultural groups and all-India social clubs, such as the Indian Social Club, founded in 1912. This Club organised a reception for the Defence Minister of India in 1964, Shri Y. B. Chavan, to be held at the Indian Gymkhana Club at Osterley Park, Middlesex, and on another occasion arranged Dusserah celebrations at the India Tea Centre in Oxford Street, at which the Indian High Commissioner and his wife, as well as the Nepalese Ambassador and his wife, were chief guests. While the Indian Social Club sent out a cyclostyled letter of invitation to its two-hour reception for the Defence Minister, Maharashtra Mandal produced a beautifully printed programme of its reception and presentation of manpatra to Shri Y. B. Chavan, himself Maharashtrian. A programme of folk and classical music was to complete this occasion.

It is interesting that office-holders in the all-India associations often figure in official or semi-official capacities in several, although it is rare to find an office-holder in a regional association holding a similar position in an all-India organisation.

The prestige-value of such office-holding cannot be overlooked. It is a means of keeping one's name before officialdom in India, and is attractive to such as journalists, popular writers, businessmen, etc. who wish for good contacts in advantageous situations. The position may be largely a sinecure, but the personal kudos gained may be significant, an indication that a man is so widely known abroad that he is asked to serve on such a committee. In

return, the committee may add to its importance by such names, shared by other all-India organisations. In the anti-communal trend of official India, a man who shows, without doubt, his all-India sympathies and interests is more likely to be favoured as spokesman or representative than one who uses his organising abilities within the confines of regionalism. Though such prestige seekers/givers are comparatively few, they are voices of the community, at least in the eyes of the host society, to be interviewed and quoted on Indian, and Indo-British, affairs, achievements, or endeavours. The following example shows that prestigeful officials, with wide contacts, are sought by new all-India associations: An appeal was launched for the establishment of a Hindu Centre in London, and there are 3 names among the officials and sponsors common to both this and the Indian Social Club, one of these holding official positions in both. Other supporters of the Hindu Centre include officials of Indo-British cultural groups, well-known Indian business and professional men, and professional men who are building up a profitable sideline in such activities as arranging economic transport of electrical goods, etc. to India, when they have been bought here free of purchase tax. Aims of such a Hindu Centre are set forth as follows:

> "There are thousands of souls who want to quench their thirst for spiritual enlightenment, meditation, prayer and to worship in a sacred place....Celebration of religious and cultural festivals. To afford temporary shelter and accommodation to our visitors from India and to promote Hinduism among our children and other interested members of the Indian and British communities."

In large capital letters on the form appealing for support is the following significant declaration: "Names of Persons making large donations will be prominently displayed in the building of the centre." The Hindu Centre has attempted to organise classes in Hindi for Indians in London, with the possibility of learning Sanskrit and English as well. It proved difficult at first to whip up enough enthusiasm for the establishment of permanent premises for the Hindu Centre, though this has now been achieved; however it is worth noting that since the appeal for a Hindu Centre was issued, a small consecrated temple has been established in the garden of a private house in Golders Green by Maharashtrians in London, as a centre for meditation,

religious ceremonies, and prayer. This was advertised as the first Hindu temple in the United Kingdom (1).

All-India associations of a different kind, with a restricted membership, are those open to members of certain professions, such as the Indian Medical Association and the Indian Journalists Association. An idea of the scope of such associations may be gained from a review of the latter.

Any full-time correspondent or reporter for an Indian newspaper or journal in the United Kingdom is eligible for membership, while a free-lance business representative of Indian publications or writer on Indian affairs is eligible to become an Associate. Meetings are held 2-3 times per month, in the form of lunches or dinners, to which politicians or others "in the news" may be invited, and asked to speak. Such meetings are useful for interchange of news and views among member journalists. Western journalists who write occasionally for Indian papers may join the association, so that it is really a professional body consisting of those in the field of journalism interested in Indian affairs; therefore it has a more international character than the all-India social and cultural societies discussed above.

In the same category is the India Society, one of the student societies attached to the University of London Union. A voluntary association, it can be joined by all those full-time internal University students who are interested in India, regardless of nationality. Naturally the bulk of members are Indian, although there has been an English secretary. Like the Indian Journalists Association, it is all-India in reference, with a restricted membership. Later we shall see how the affairs of this association are conducted in practice.

The third category of Indian associations on the India House list is that of Workers Associations, which, while active and increasingly important to any study of Indian working-class immigrants in U.K., have little to do with the professionals and students with whom this study is concerned. (2)

---

(1) In June 1969 it was announced that the first temple for Untouchables in Britain had been opened in Wolverhampton by Mr. D. Bowa, Assistant High Commissioner for India in Birmingham. (Guardian, June 2nd. '69. p.24, col. 5.)

(2) For a study of these associations see Dewitt John, 1969.

The Parsee Association of Europe has been included in the category of religious associations, although its functions appear to be chiefly social, cultural and economic, and it is marginally a regional-linguistic association.

Its members are drawn chiefly from Western India, from the old Bombay State, now split to form a part of both Gujarat and Maharashtra. Within this area, membership is further restricted by the necessity to belong to the elite Parsee religious group; an elite and distinct social group in India, the Parsees maintain their exclusiveness in the U.K. Below is given a brief account of the activities of the London Parsee Association, which, after a comparison with those of the following regional/linguistic associations, can be seen to be similarly socio-cultural in aim, not primarily for religious purposes. Although membership is based on religious affiliation, even if only in name, the benefits of membership are secular.

In selecting the Parsee Association for comparison with the regional/linguistic associations I emphasize its relative stability: its financial resources, its hard core of well-to-do permanent residents in Britain, often tied here by business interests, its permanent premises, and its use of the circulatory system of committee membership, which ensures continuity of policy and activity. Not without its dissatisfaction of younger members, like the other associations, it has so far managed to contain this, which, I would suggest, is due to the stabilising factors outlined above. It provides an interesting comparison in this respect with the regional/linguistic associations, descriptions of which follow. Of these associations I have selected four: one from North India, the Punjabi Association; one from the South, the Kerala Association; one from the East, the Bengali Institute, and one from Western India, Maharashtra Mandal. I also consider manifestations of traditional alignments in an all-India student organisation, the India Society of London University Students' Union.

<u>The Parsee Association</u>

Possibly because of its permanent base in London, so that a meeting-place is always readily available, the Parsee Association has frequent "get-togethers". Once a fortnight an "at home" is held, and to this members may bring their friends. It takes the form of a social evening, and light refreshments are provided, which must be paid for by members wishing to partake of them. Groups meet quite informally at these functions, and, as the

majority of members are Gujaratis, Gujarati is most commonly spoken at these informal fortnightly meetings, although English is ordinarily used in business transactions and in Committee and general meetings. This would appear to be necessary because membership of the Parsee Association is by no means restricted to Gujaratis, even though they form a substantial part of its membership; Burmese, Pakistanis, people from Singapore or the Middle East are also welcome, although the ties with these countries are weaker, as there are no centres established there. The situation is very different in India, the home base of the Parsee Association, for membership can continue when members return home. Membership of the Parsee Association will generally lapse when those from countries other than India return, since there are no base associations to which their membership may be transferred; some, however, do maintain their connections with and membership of the Parsee Association of Europe in London, especially those with Life Membership. Life Membership costs 10 gns., the annual subscription being 1 gn. Out of approximately 1,000 Parsees in the London area, (with possibly more in the country as a whole, although there is a concentration around London), the Association has about 400 members.

The effective social function of the Association is, then, largely confined to Gujarati-speaking Parsees from the West Coast of India. The founding of this Branch was in their hands, and the maintenance and strengthening of their business ties with Britain has confirmed their influence.

The Parsee Association's branch in Britain was established over 100 years ago, 1858-1860. Mr. Saklat Walla, the Parsee Socialist M.P., was a leading figure in putting the association on its feet. The first Parsee business house in Britain was started in 1835 in Liverpool; this, incidentally, was the first Indian business of any kind started in U.K. The establishment of this business gave rise to others, and as the number grew, six Parsee business men decided it was necessary to found a formal Parsee Association in England. This was done with two main purposes in view:

a) to further the interests of Parsees established in Britain; and

b) to assist new immigrants who were in need of help, financial or otherwise.

One of the founders was the second President of the Indian National Congress, during his time in England on business.

The organisation and running of the Parsee Association seems always to have been in the hands of well-established business men in Britain. My informant stressed that it was necessary to have at the top, in positions of authority, those with their own private financial backing: "we all have, at some time or another, to put our hands in our pockets and help the Association financially." He pointed out that the Association had its own permanent reserve of cash, but this capital they would not touch, preferring to smooth out any difficulties privately: "for once you tamper with your capital, you're finished; this is business."

The Headquarters of the Association is in India, in Bombay, and there are branches throughout the country, as well as in Britain and on the Continent. There is, for example, a centre, having its own cemetery, in West Germany. The British branch has its cemetery at Brentwood. The Association owns its own premises in London: Zoroastrian House, in West Kensington. It forms a kind of community centre for the Parsee community of the London area; there are meeting rooms, a library and reading room, a dance hall, opportunities for playing billiards, table tennis, etc. This house is open to members daily, although it is not greatly used. Occasionally a group of Parsees, say doctors, will use the facilities in order to spend a little time together in discussion or conversation. There is a resident caretaker, so that someone in authority is always on the premises.

The management and conduct of the Association rests in the hands of a Committee of 12 members. There are three office holders, namely: President, Secretary and Treasurer, the remaining nine being Ordinary members. In addition to these twelve committee members, there are three Financial Trustees, whose specific duty is to keep a watchful eye on the administration of the Association's funds which have been painstakingly built up over the years. As my informant told me: "Before any major allocation of funds can be made, no less than 15 people must make up their minds on the subject and agree."

The whole committee is not newly elected annually; only 4 may retire in one year, exactly one-third of the total committee membership. These members are eligible for re-election for a succeeding year, and can stand for such re-election immediately on their retirement, though they are not automatically re-elected by virtue of their previous committee membership, but must stand

the competition of new candidates, should there be any.

A committee then, at any given moment, is undergoing a circulatory movement in its three sections, A, B, and C, each section consisting of four members who were elected in the same year. The four new (or re-elected) members of a committee are elected each year at the Annual General Meeting, at which all currently paid-up members of the Association's London branch are eligible to vote. The Committee being fully elected to everyone's satisfaction, the General Meeting then elects from among the twelve members, a President; then the Committee itself elects the other two office holders, namely Secretary and Treasurer, from among its members.

The capital fund of the Association's Head Branch in Bombay amounts to £5,000,000. Scholarships are awarded to Parsees who wish to go abroad for study, whether to Universities, or for Accountancy, or Law, or similar professional qualifications. Should any Parsee wish to return home to India urgently, and be unable to afford his fare, the Association will pay for his passage; the same applies should he be in any financial difficulty in this country. My informant gave me an example of how the Association helps its members in difficulties in this country. He told me of a young man who had recently come to Britain to study navigation and nautical engineering, but who had been taken ill soon after his arrival, a malignant tumour being discovered. The Association had undertaken to fly him home to his family in India, according to his wish, at its own expense.

The bulk of the Parsee Association Committee members are long-standing residents in Britain, business and professional men of some substance. Younger professional men and students sometimes find fault with what they feel to be an over-representation of establishment figures at the top; my informant said: "The young folk naturally think they can run everything better than we older members!" The answer to this is to give one or two of the students a look-in on the Committee, "if they show themselves to be responsible and capable." By this tolerance of the younger age-group the senior members have maintained control and monopolised power in the Association so far - there is also the built-in advantage that they are permanent residents of Britain, while a majority of students are transients, without a long-standing stake in the Association; and those who do stay on are likely to join the establishment as they become more settled and advanced in their careers. In addition, the

contacts the establishment is in a position to maintain with the head office of the Association in Bombay, owing to the prestige they have gained through their success in Britain, reinforces their authority. This is not to say that their position will remain so; but up to now they have managed to hold off a large-scale challenge from the younger members.

In this account I have stressed the financially-sound, solidly business-like organisation of the Parsee Association, an example of how an Establishment with almost a monopoly of economic resources can retain executive power in a voluntary association. The fact that these officials can help the association financially out of their own pockets when need be, thus keeping the investment capital intact, adds to their influence and security. The assets of the association, such as its own premises, demand financial security if they are to be maintained, and here again an established leadership helps. By admitting one or two younger representatives to the executive committee, the leaders demonstrate that they are not intolerant of new ideas while limiting such representation so that they are not over-run. Less monolithic structures have not weathered their internal storms so sturdily, as will be shown below.

Kerala Samajam

This restlessness among the youth is not confined to the Parsee Association. Younger members have expressed discontent in the Kerala Association, too, and it is interesting to see the grounds for this discontent and the way chosen to express it.

Kerala Samajam has been established in London since the early 1930s, when it was founded under the leadership of Dr. M. P. K. Menon. In the early stages Mr. V. K. Krishna Menon was active in its formation. The secondary stated aim of the association is to assist cultural adaptation of newly arrived Malayalis, to assist them in making friends and finding accommodation. Its main purpose is to maintain the culture of Kerala among expatriate Malayalis, and to introduce it to others who are interested. Membership is open to non-Malayalis who wish to join. The largest and most festive annual gathering of Kerala Samajam is the Onam festival, at which both members and their guests are welcome. This usually consists of a feast, including traditional Kerala dishes, and a programme of dances and songs.

On one occasion the Kerala Samajam Committee arranged to amalgamate the traditional annual celebration of Onam with a new venture, "Varshika Dinam",

or National Day. The AGM, including election of officers, was to take place after the conclusion of festivities. The celebrations, held in the Mahatma Gandhi Hall of the Indian YMCA in Fitzroy Square, W.C.1. (it should be pointed out that the Warden here was an Indian Christian from Kerala), began with an hour-long feast, followed by coffee. Incidentally, this was the only Indian association at which Grace was said by some individuals before the meal, which indicates that a number of Christians were present; in fact, some of those in charge were priests.

It will be useful to outline the form the succeeding entertainment took, as it will help to give the mood of the meeting in some ways, and put the following AGM into context. The entertainment began at about 2.50 p.m., the artists being members of the association. Loudspeaker announcements of each item were made, first in English, then in Malayalam. The President's welcome was given in English.

Item 1. Devotional Song. The instrumentalist was off-stage, and only the singer, dressed in traditional Malayali style, was to be seen. On each side of her were branches of five lights, standing on the ground, and in front of her a tray of coconuts. As she sang, she scattered yellow petals from a tray she held, alternately towards each branch of lights.

Item 2. A Kathakali dance.

Item 3. The violinist played two popular Hindi songs, which were not greatly appreciated, the audience chatting in undertones and not paying much attention, except to laugh quietly.

Item 4. An instrumental group, playing South Indian folk music. This was very well received. The drummer was dressed in traditional loose-fitting Indian cotton garments.

Item 5. Again a traditional South Indian dance.

Item 6. The veena was now played with drum accompaniment. It was a short classical piece, but owing to the inefficiency of the microphone on stage, the veena was very soft and hard to appreciate on that account.

Item 7. A mandolin solo by the violinist - popular Hindi songs, which again, though attractively played, were laughed at to some extent.

Item 8. Another traditional South Indian Kathakali dance by the same artiste who performed Item 2.

Item 9. This was a Malayalam song, which would have been greatly appreciated if the singer had had a stronger voice. The audience listened attentively, but even so little could be heard, and the singer had to form a duet with her accompanist in order to be heard at all. Even so, she was afterwards asked to give an encore.

Item 10. This song was performed by two young lady doctors, who were immensely popular among the young bachelors present. There was great clapping and cheering when they finished, and they were pressed into doing an encore. These songs, too, were in Malayalam.

The concluding address by the President was in English, as his welcoming speech had been. For the National Anthem, all the artists who had taken part in the entertainment were asked to come up to the stage to lead the audience in the singing.

For this function there were about 150 Malayalis present, men and women, plus about 20 children. There were 8-10 Europeans present, friends of members of the Association, who had been asked along as guests. There was a representative number of women, who quite noticeably mixed freely with the men present, laughing and joking, whether they were married or unmarried. This was noticeable in the seating arrangements, too; there seemed no tendency for the women to congregate together. Most of them left, however, after the entertainment, with the children, together with many of the men, leaving about 50 for the AGM.

The audience's reaction to Items 3 and 7, the Hindi songs, was either non-existent, by ignoring them altogether, or actively unfavourable, through ridiculing them. This was a reflection of the prevailing anti-Hindi movement in South India, which was the contemporary mood back in Kerala. This interpretation of audience reaction was strengthened by the attitudes revealed by the younger members of the association in their reactions to various points in the Secretary's report at the AGM.

The AGM : Postponement of Onam.

On this occasion Onam had been postponed from September to early November, and this was a very sore point with several of the young men at the meeting. They were hostile to the idea that Onam was deferred and amalgamated with an entirely new function called "Varshika Dinam" - National Day. One of the stewards, who was not a Committee member, rose to reply. He said that it would

not have been right for them to have been feasting and celebrating in London when "our brothers at home are staining the ground with their blood." (1) There was an embarrassed silence at this, as though the hecklers did not really care, but none of them liked to be the first to say so. The President interposed to say that they had decided to combine Onam with the new function Varshika Dinam, and hold the election of office-bearers for the following year on the same occasion. Immediately the opposition was roused: what right had the Secretary to do this and send out circulars to this effect? The Constitution was immediately referred to by President and Secretary for support. One of the Committee members rose to say that he had been told nothing about it, even though he was on the Committee, and had not been consulted. This so irritated the President that he asked where he had been when all these arrangements were made, saying that it was easy to criticise after the event, when all the work had been done - why hadn't this Committee member come forward to do some of the work? This sort of speech did not endear him to his opponents, and there were veiled references to "the sort of man we want" as President; the President took up this point, and demanded clarification, whereupon it appeared that they felt he should not have gone on holiday at the time of the usual celebration of Onam. There seemed to be two insinuations here:

1) that Onam was postponed for the benefit of the President;

2) that the President was two-faced in going on holiday during the Indo-Pakistan conflict, while using it as an excuse for postponing Onam.

The President burst out that he was only in the Chair because no-one else would take it on the previous year, and called on witnesses present for support.

Election of Officers.

This was taken up with a continuation of the dispute outlined above. Many were against the election of officers at Varshika Dinam, demanding a separate AGM for the purpose. As things seemed to be dragging on, about one quarter of members present rose to go, leaving a militant hard core. The President appealed to their unity as Malayalis, and said they had so few occasions for meeting together in London that they felt it was best to hold

---

(1) A reference to the Indo-Pakistan conflict in progress at the time.

elections at a time when most of the members were present to vote. He asked how many could spare the time to keep on coming to town for such functions? A vote on the question was demanded, which was promptly carried out, by a show of hands. According to this, the President and Secretary counted 18 for, 18 against; the President said he would give his casting vote for immediate election of officers, so they should go ahead with elections. At this there was a loud objection from the floor that only 17 votes for immediate election of officers were counted. Another member asked whether it were possible to abstain in this question, the President acquiesced, and this member forthwith complained that abstentions had not been counted at the voting (which was true). A non-partisan member was then chosen as teller, but before a second vote could be taken there was so much disturbance and shouting from the floor, resulting in such complete confusion, that the President declared the meeting closed.

It is interesting that all business of the meeting was conducted in English, with the exception of the initial speech calling the Secretary into question for postponing Onam and instituting Varshika Dinam, which was delivered in Malayalam. Answers to this speech were all made in English.

The President and Secretary at this time were both older men, who might be termed "the Establishment"; the opposing faction appeared to be composed entirely of the "young bloods". They seemed to be eager to get their hands on the administration of the association, but it was interesting that the way they chose to do this was not to introduce new functions and new ideas, but to emphasize the traditional festival of Onam, and its traditional time of celebration, to the exclusion of such modern concepts as a "National Day". This tendency, of course, reflected the agitation in Kerala, again by young people and students to a great extent, against the imposition of Hindi as a national language. In the London Kerala Samajam they sought to affirm their separateness from the powerful North of India, through traditional festivals peculiar to the South, and therefore enthusiasm for Onam and its proper celebration obliterates the expression of unity found in the idea of a National Day. Communal feeling was emphasized by the student who spoke in Malayalam against the postponement of Onam and its amalgamation with the new Varshika Dinam celebrations.

Use of traditional means of expressing individual opinions by the young is evident in other Indian situations; Jyotirmoyee Sarma's recent paper on pūjā associations in W. Bengal shows how these are "....organised by young men who seek individual expression through socially approved channels." (1) Such pūjās loose some of their religious atmosphere when organised by the young men, yet their elders will support them since they feel "....it is better that the young people should be in contact with the religious world in their own way than lose sight of religion completely". (2) Thus the young people gain a freedom of expression channelled through traditional, socially-acceptable ways; similarly, in the Kerala Samajam AGM, revolt against the established leadership was couched in traditional terms, thus minimising conservative opposition.

This dispute resulted in the break-down of the Kerala Samajam, which ceased to function for a period of approximately two years, subsequently being revived by a group of young men, chiefly postgraduate students, under the title of Kerala Association. The aims and functions were similar to those of the old Kerala Samajam; all idea of a Varshika Dinam celebration was dropped, and Onam restored to its former position of chief among the association's meetings, held in September, and commemorated by a feast and entertainment programme. The elected President was again a man of the older age-group, though completely unconnected with the earlier fracas, owing to his absence from Britain at the time. He is an ex-Professor of Law, and, although in the late forties, he enjoys mixing with younger people, championing their right to express their opinions and run things their own way. Under his leadership the Kerala Association started to produce its own magazine, Keralam, the articles being mainly concerned with the history and culture of Kerala. It would appear then that, after a period of complete inactivity, the Kerala Association is functioning again in the hands of younger organisers, the Establishment of Kerala Samajam having completely retired from active participation in its affairs. The Association's identification with Kerala has become more marked in that Onam is now again the primary festival, and Malayalam is now the language used for conducting all business at Committee meetings and AGMs, in place of English.

---

(1) J. Sarma, 1969. p.594.
(2) Ibid., p.593.

The continuance of an older man as President, in spite of what appears to be a take-over by a younger group is seen also in the affairs of the Bengali Institute. Such older men who seek power by this means must be known supporters of the younger groups' claims, and express disagreement with the views or actions of those of their own age-group in the Establishment before they achieve their objective. The playing of an older age-group of established leaders against another, younger, one of aspirants to these positions can be seen as a means to power operated by individuals who may themselves be of the older grouping, but who are not above manipulating the differences between the opposing sides for their own ends. We shall see the mechanics of this in a study of the Bengali Institute in London.

Bengali Institute

The Institute was founded in 1958, the formal successor to a series of small cultural organisations which had been springing up among Bengalis in London. Present membership totals 300-350.

There are no permanent premises in London, although there is a Bengali library, open to members one day per week, and situate in India League at the the time of my fieldwork. Meetings are irregular, but usually occur about once a month. One meeting is compulsory, that is, the AGM, which generally takes place in December. The Half-Yearly General Meeting, although also compulsory according to the Constitution, was said to be optional. In addition to these meetings, a cultural programme is organised in May, to commemmorate Tagore's birthday, and in April the Bengali New Year's Day is celebrated. There is an Autumn Social in October, and throughout the year there are informal literary evenings, at which a modern Bengali writer, poet, artist, or similar celebrity, possibly on a visit from India, is asked to speak about his work, and there may be a discussion. Light refreshments are served on these occasions. The Institute does not arrange formal receptions for VIPs, as some of the other regional associations do; it preserves its character as a non-political body. Each visitor receives a similar reception: Dr. Humayun Kabir was asked to speak to members when in this country, which he did, but no special ceremony was laid on in his honour. The President of the Institute does not have to reside in U.K.; it is more a position of honour, and he will, of course, attend meetings of the Institute when he is in this country, but not otherwise. The Chairman is really the active head

of the Institute. Eminent Bengalis, although living and working in India, may be asked to be Presidents of the Institute.

The members of the Institute perform one Bengali drama each year. Trips are arranged; for instance, 65 members went on a bus tour of Scotland lasting three days, and a Paris trip was planned. Bengali films, brought over from Calcutta, are shown, on a non-profit-making basis.

At meetings Bengali is usually the language used, although, if any individual member prefers, he can speak in English, and is not prohibited from doing so. The Chairman expressed regret that notices of meetings, the Constitution, etc., cannot be prepared in Bengali, as, according to him, there are no Bengali typewriters available, and no-one capable of using one, if there were. This does not appear to be an insurmountable difficulty, if there were a sufficiently determined lobby in favour of Bengali. However, even in Maharashtra Mandal, where there is strong support for the use of Marathi whenever possible, as we shall see, notices are prepared and despatched in English.

The point most strongly stressed by the current Chairman was that the Institute is formally recognised by the Government of West Bengal; in fact, this Government donated Rs.2,000 to the Institute for the purchase of Modern Bengali books in Bengal, to be sent over for the Institute's library of 900-1,000 books in London. The majority of these books are in Bengali, but Macmillan & Co., the publishers, donated several English books which are also included. On the Centenary of Tagore, the Government of India presented the Institute with a special presentation volume of his works. The Chairman's greatest pride lies in the possession of a library and the official recognition of the Institute by the West Bengal Government and the Government of India. The main points of difference between the Institute and other regional associations in London are that no special ceremony or formal reception is organised for the express purpose of honouring a celebrated visitor from India, and that they do not celebrate any religious festivals. This latter point may be explained by the fact that members of the Institute come from both East and West Bengal, and there is therefore both Hindu and Moslem representation. Though only a few East Pakistanis are members, the common bond of the Bengali language is constantly stressed as the essential requirement for full membership of the Institute, and anything which might

discourage East Pakistanis from joining, such as the celebration of Hindu festivals, is studiously avoided.

In spite of the stress on the Bengali language and the Institute's library, in recent years there appears to have been a shift of emphasis within the association from a cultural basis to a more purely social one. At least outwardly, this has been a cause of friction within the Institute, and the founder-Chairman, U, an Indian journalist working in Britain, was ousted from his position as Chairman, which he had held for 6 years, since the establishment of the Institute, by M, the London representative of a manufacturing company. U has consistently urged that the Institute should have a cultural emphasis, encouraging interest in Bengali literature and the arts, whereas M stresses the social side more - day trips and outings, which, in fact, are more popular. U expressed a fear that if this latter policy is followed, "parochialism" (i.e. provincialism) will set in. His criticism of this policy was interspersed with derogatory remarks on M: "this boy" he called him, although he qualified such remarks subsequently by saying: "Well, he's not a boy really; he's quite an elderly man." In Indian society, where to be the elder is to be the wiser, the more authoritarian, and the more honoured, to refer to a man as "a boy", more especially if he be an elderly man, implies his thoughtlessness, irresponsibility and inexperience. In an interview with M, he also expressed regret that there was diminishing interest among younger members of the Institute in the talks on modern Bengali literature and art, and in discussions of such subjects. However, he seemed to be prepared to cater for the tastes of the younger set by organising trips and social evenings for them, and thus has managed to oust U from the chairmanship for the first time, by appearing as a champion of new ideas and changes in future policy, even though, judging purely from his age and length of residence in U.K., he belongs to the Establishment. He has been able to use the change of emphasis in the Institute's policies demanded by its younger members to benefit his own position and, indeed, to pass changes in the Constitution which will prevent a small in-group from dominating the Institute's affairs for any length of time, as we shall see. As it was U who originally drafted the Constitution, he regarded major emendations of it as a personal criticism, and this, in addition to the association's swing from being a cultural centre to a social centre, led to his discomfiture and withdrawal from internal manoeuvrings.

His formal explanation of this retraction was that he now found he had no time for the Institute's activities.

Some constitutional changes had been made before U's departure from office. That the swing towards social activities had been progressing for some time is clear from the fact that in the original Constitution all members were to be notified of all meetings of the Institute, whereas an amendment passed towards the end of U's term of office states: "For literary seminars, such members as have signified their interest therefore (sic) will be notified." The membership form now requests prospective members to state if they are interested in this side of the Institute's activities, signifying that the social side receives priority over the cultural, since all receive notice of social gatherings, but only the interested get news of cultural evenings. The increasing prominence of social activities becomes evident from another amendment passed during U's chairmanship, referring to the election of Honorary Members. Formerly these were persons eminent in the Arts or Sciences only; now "those who have rendered distinguished service to the Institute" are included, thus widening the field from the cultural, academic, and literary spheres. This amendment obviously opens the way to considerable wire-pulling and nepotism, and, quite simply, the power of money; for example, if a man provided the means for purchasing a considerable number of books for the Institute's library or made a substantial donation towards establishing a permanent home for it in London, presumably he would be eligible for Honorary Membership.

The amendments to the constitutional provisions relating to membership of the executive committee are of greatest interest when considering the ousting of the established leadership. Formerly a minimum of one-third of Committee members (total no.: not more than 15) had to have been resident in U.K. for a period of not less than 5 years; when one considers the usual student plan of staying for 3-4 years only, this condition seems intended to ensure a secure representation from among the permanent or semi-permanent Bengali residents. Under M's chairmanship, the clause was altered to bring the required period of residence for at least one-third of the Committee down to 3 years only. It is obvious that this would enable more of the younger members to stand for election and have a decisive voice in the affairs of the Institute.

Substantial change was also made in Item 17 of the Constitution. This formerly read:

> "The Executive Committee shall be elected at the Annual General Meeting of the Institute and shall meet immediately after the Annual General Meeting to elect Office-Bearers. At every Annual General Meeting, fourteen elected and all co-opted Members of the Committee shall retire, but shall be eligible for re-election.
>
> The names of Members who retire under this clause shall be determined by lot from among Members desiring to serve in the next Committee, leaving a residue of one Member who then automatically becomes member of the next Executive Committee. The lot shall be drawn at a Meeting of the out-going Committee."

The second paragraph was amended under M's chairmanship to read:

> "The one remaining position will automatically be filled by the out-going Hon. Secretary, if he consents to serve in the next Executive Committee. In case the out-going Secretary does not so consent, the choice will fall on the next out-going Jt. Secretary, and then on the next one."

This continuing presence of the previous Hon. Sec. would obviously be useful, not only to the newly-appointed successor, but to the entire Committee, providing a continuum of informal advice. Provision is also made lest the out-going Hon. Sec. cannot, or does not wish to, serve on the ensuing Committee. Through the amendment, the office of Hon. Secretary is forced to change hands every year, for since the out-going Secretary is a co-opted member on the new Committee, he will not hold office, though he will be in a position to help the new Hon. Secretary. Formerly, unless he drew the lot which made him an obligatory co-opted member on the new Committee (a chance of one in fifteen) in which case, of course, he would not retain his office, he could stand for re-election with any other members of the old Committee who wished to do so. Unless a strongly-led opposing action-set arises within the association, elections are almost foregone conclusions, with the Establishment being returned to power without a great deal of interest being aroused among ordinary members. If re-elected, the Hon. Secretary could

probably carry on with his job, office-bearers being elected by the new Committee members at a private meeting. Under the amendment drawn up by M's Committee, this powerful position of Hon. Secretary cannot be monopolised, and there is less likelihood of the election of Office-bearers becoming a "closed shop". A capable Hon. Secretary, working closely with his Chairman, who held this post for any length of time, could end up almost running the Institute, a danger which, through the amendment to Clause 17 in the Constitution, insisting on an annual change in the holder of this office, is largely circumvented.

While the Hon. Secretary's potential was curtailed by this amendment, the Chairman's powers also were reduced significantly by alterations to Clause 44, which formerly read as follows:

> "(a) All elections shall be held by secret ballot, with a simple majority vote deciding the outcome. A simple majority decision at a business meeting, either of the General Body or of the Executive Committee, shall be binding on all its Members, with the exception of Amendments to the Constitution and Dissolution of the Institute provided in subsequent articles 45 and 48.
>
> (b) The existing Executive Committee shall appoint an Election Committee comprising of (sic) a Chairman and two Members. Not more than one of the Members of the Election Committee may be a Member of the existing Executive Committee. He shall not be an Office-bearer and shall not be the Chairman. None of these Members shall be a candidate or proposer/seconder for a candidate standing in the election.
>
> (c)The General Election shall be presided over by the Chairman of the Election Committee. In case he be unable to do so the Chair shall be taken by one of the Members of the Election Committee whom he shall nominate.
>
> (d) After the result of the election is declared the Chairman of the Election Committee shall invite the elected Members to a meeting, presided over by him, to elect Office-bearers. The election of Office-bearers shall be in the following order:- Secretary, Joint-Secretaries, Treasurer, Librarian, Vice-Chairman and Chairman. The duties of the Election Committee shall terminate at the conclusion of election of the Office-bearers.

> (e) The last date of submission of nomination papers shall be announced by the Election Chairman, mentioned in the notice of the Annual General Meeting and put on the Notice Board in the Library. A nomination paper shall contain the name and address and written consent of the candidate, if possible. It shall also contain the names, addresses and signatures of the proposer and the seconder."

These provisions for the selection and function of the Election Committee were radically simplified firstly under U's Chairmanship, thus:

> "Notwithstanding anything contained in Clause 44, the following procedure shall be effective in the circumstances stated below:-
> 1) If the Election Committee does not function for any reason, the Chairman of the Institute or any Member nominated by him shall discharge the functions of the Election Committee.
> 2) If no valid nominations are reported by the Election Committee or the number of nominations reported is less than the number of the members to be elected, necessary nominations shall be called for from the floor of the Annual General Meeting."

It is clear that a great deal of power and authority was thus vested in the Chairman alone, for even if he himself did not discharge the duties of the Election Committee, his nominee would do so. Under M's Chairmanship, this clause was still further amended, giving the Chairman's emergency powers to the Executive Committee as a whole.

The purpose of these amendments was to break the power monopoly of the Chairman/Secretary alliance, supported on the Committee by an in-group of original founder members. While such trials of strength were continuing among the politically-oriented members of the Institute, the ordinary members, interested chiefly in the social and cultural events, showed declining enthusiasm for the practical organisation of the Institute; a fact which is reflected in an amendment passed under M's Chairmanship to Clause 45 of the Constitution, which now rules that only a two-thirds majority of members at General Body meetings is needed for amendments to the Constitution to be passed, instead of the original three-quarters.

Thus M and his supporters voiced their dissatisfaction with the stranglehold U's committee had on the affairs of the Institute, to the extent of

pressing some Constitutional reforms even prior to their election, and after this confirming their doubts by altering the Constitution in several places. To gain power, as well as to ferment hostility towards an entrenched monopoly, they appealed to the growing socializing interests of the younger members, emerging as "progressives".

At first it appears strange that, before his defeat in the elections, U's commieett allowed certain amendments to the Constitution which weakened the President's power. Yet these capitulations to M's aggressive action set were in the nature of an attempt to "spike their guns"; to appear more liberal so that in the eyes of the mass of members they would appear to give due consideration to opponents' views, demonstrating their reasonableness by giving way on some issues so that, when the time came to take a firm stand, their refusal would appear considered and justifiable seen in the light of past modifications.

M's efforts to weaken the President's position ultimately worked against himself, as he was subsequently defeated, and by a part of U's action set, though U himself did not stand again for office. After giving up his active interest in the Bengali Institute, U turned his attention to the lot of Indian immigrants in U.K., and was honoured by the Indian Prime Minister for his work in this field. Having reached an eminence in the Indian community, his sponsorship and favour to his action set in the Institute increased its popularity, and M and his group were ousted. Though U no longer holds office personally in the Institute, his influence is considerable, and the honour and regard given him is passed on to the Institute, and its members, through maintenance of his close ties with it. U chose to fight not at the low level of intra-Institute politics, but, cleverly preserving his prestige, moved out to win influence in a wider sphere, leaving his action set to fight in the Institute. As a journalist, he was well placed to do this. Thus he has been able to reinstate himself in the eyes of members, to hold their attention, and, through honours paid him, make them proud to know him and value his continued interest in the Institute. As a figure-head he eclipsed M, who was defeated. Whether or not this will prove good for the Bengali Institute remains to be seen, as there is again a tendency to leave all to a well-established leadership, with no impetus towards change or improvement. The

Institute's affairs hold little attraction for young members, and there is a danger that until another pressure group arises, with an active or eminent leader, control will once again be centred in a close-knit set of the older age-group.

I shall now proceed to a diachronic account of changes in the administration of the Maharashtra Mandal in London. In a recent power dispute, constitutional reform has again provided a convenient battleground.

Maharashtra is a large region (118,717 sq. miles or 118,279.9 sq. miles, according to the 1961 Census of India). (1) Within such an area are certain sub-regions, Bombay, Poona, Nagpur, Kolhapur, for example, with local variants of the same basic regional culture, so that we might expect such sub-regional differences to emerge as definitive characteristics of sub-groups, or action-sets, in an organisation as comprehensive as Maharashtra Mandal. Though proximity of area of origin is not insignificant in the formation of close personal friendships, within Maharashtra Mandal it is a member's caste, or even sub-caste, that influences his joining a certain interest group; for instance, one formed to organise a special cultural evening. In this case, a Saraswat from Bombay is more likely to call upon the aid of a Saraswat from Kolhapur than upon that of a Chitpavan from Bombay. Maharashtra has four major territorial divisions: Bombay, Poona, Aurangabad and Nagpur, and of these the first, the coastal areas, have the greatest population:

Bombay Division - - - - - - - - 13,662,321
Poona Division- - - - - - - - - 10,360,282
Aurangabad Division - - - - - 6,297,373
Nagpur Division - - - - - - - 9,233,742

Bombay and Poona Divisions also have the highest literacy rates:

Bombay Division - - - - - - - 2,368,810
Poona Division- - - - - - - - 1,524,045
Aurangabad Division - - - - - - 680,389
Nagpur Division - - - - - - - 1,230,808 (2)

---

(1) Census of India 1961. Vol.X. Pt. II-A. p.49 The first figure is taken from the Surveyor-General, India, the second from State Land Records and Survey Dept.
(2) Census of India 1961. Vol.X. Pt. II-C(i). pp. 56-61.

It is not surprising that those predominating in Maharashtra Mandal affairs are from the Bombay and Poona areas; these are contiguous and share common cultural patterns, and the leaders of Maharashtra Mandal, and the action-sets which won them office, have always come from these regions. Regional rivalry is non-existent because of the numerical weighting in favour of these areas; intra-caste marriages cement inter-regional ties; for instance: an eminent doctor from the Poona area met a government official from Bombay at a Mandal function in London. They had never met before. The official, on hearing the other's name, exclaimed - "Oh yes, a very good friend of mine in Bombay (actually related to me through a cousin of mine) mentioned your name to me - do you know him - Raja Ketkar?" "Ah," replied the doctor, "he is the brother of my maternal uncle's wife." Immediately the links were established, and conversation flowed freely from that mutual reference point.

Indian political affiliations are hardly ever mentioned, nor British ones, and politics has been ignored either as a divisive or as a cohesive force so far. Maharashtra Mandal, like the other regional/linguistic associations, exists for cultural and social purposes alone, and neither Indian nor British party political loyalties have been allowed to interfere with these aims. In fact, it is remarkable how comparatively rarely purely political matters are raised in private conversation amongst the Indian elite in U.K.; and certainly sociable association meetings, where families meet and children play, are not regarded as the time or the place for such matters.

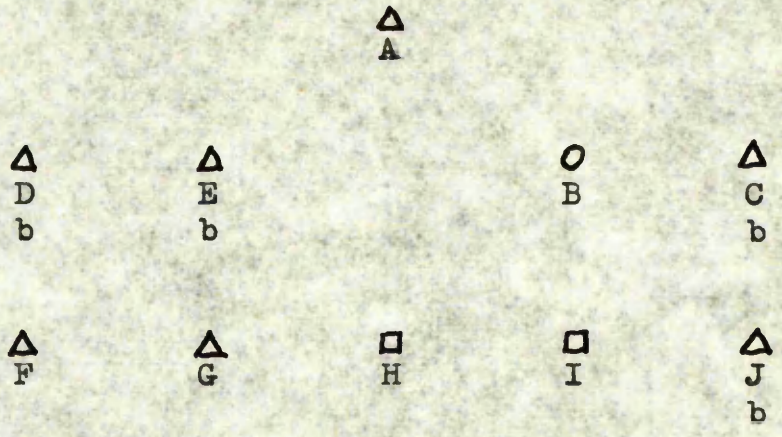
Maharashtra Mandal.

Maharashtra Mandal in London lapsed during the Second World War but was revived shortly afterwards by a nucleus of professional men, students, and those who had turned to business after the war had curtailed their projected studies. Its purposes were to act as an agency to bring together Maharashtrians in London for social and cultural activities, as well as to promote cultural understanding between them and the host society. Membership, although modest to start with, gradually grew until it totalled about 180 paid-up members. (1)

---

(1) Such was the case about 6 years ago. By 1970 membership had increased to nearly 400.

The first record of Mandal affairs and membership of the Executive Committee which can be used dates from 1956-57, a period well before the commencement of my fieldwork, and therefore pieced together from information volunteered by several members. As these were of the then younger group, and in the absence of personal observation, this early account may be biased to some extent. However, it is useful in view of subsequent events.



Maharashtra Mandal Committee Plan 1956-57

△ = male ○ = female □ = sex unknown

b = Brahmin member

A:- President, well-reputed medical practitioner, with a practice established many years in the London area.

B:- Wife of F, and Vice-President.

C:- Treasurer, casual student of Accountancy, financed from home in India.

D:- Secretary, student.

E:- Joint-Secretary, student.

F:- Ordinary member, Executive on overseas posting, Inspector of Materials, Indian Railways.

G:- Ordinary member, student.

H:- Ordinary member.

I:- Ordinary member.

J:- Ordinary member, co-opted past President, well-known journalist.

At the Maharashtra Mandal Annual Dinner organised by the above Committee, D, out of courtesy to a few non-Marathi speakers present, decided to make the announcement of each item on the programme from the stage in English, as the lingua franca, immediately after the announcement in Marathi. During the

interval F came backstage and objected to this use of English, claiming it was a breach of the Constitution, and that the Secretary should not assume so much authority, but should call a Committee meeting at which such decisions might be taken after consultation among all the Committee members. D then refused to continue making the announcements for the rest of the entertainment, telling F, in fact, that if he felt that way he could do the rest himself. D said that F was only "an Ordinary Committee member", and forthwith resigned from his position as Secretary. The Joint-Secretary, E, a close friend of D, took over the announcements for the second half of the programme, continuing in Marathi and English, as D had started. A, the President, who was on friendly terms with D, spoke to him afterwards, and persuaded him to retract his resignation, and continue in office.

Later the same year D was involved in an April Fool's Day joke, when a member of the Mandal phoned him to say that a fellow-member had been rushed to hospital after a motor-cycle accident. As Secretary, D visited the hospital to make enquiries, and was told the man concerned had been brought to Casualty about a week previously with minor cuts and bruises, and had been sent home after treatment. D was furious at the involvement of Maharashtra Mandal in such a cheap joke, and at his own humiliation, and again resigned. He was later persuaded by A and E to resume his post. However, he did not stand for re-election the following year, and has not held office in Maharashtra Mandal since, or taken any leading part in its affairs.

Since 1956 the position of President of Maharashtra Mandal had, without interruption, alternated between A and J. Therefore, because the President of the previous year is automatically co-opted onto the new Committee when it takes over, these two were permanently on the Committee, taking it in turns as President and co-opted member. (This co-opting of a retiring President is not in the Constitution, but has arisen only through its happening one year when the retiring President was a good man who would prove useful on the Committee. It was not intended as a permanent arrangement, but has turned out so).

A and J have been proposed in alternate years, and between them held on to the Presidency for about 7 years. Both have been established in this country for many years, and the Vice-President is usually in the same situation; for instance, when B was elected, she and her husband would offer

the use of their flat for Committee meetings, play rehearsals, and serve coffee and sweets afterwards. On enquiry as to why B, rather than her husband F, held the post of Vice-President, while F remained an Ordinary Committee Member, it was explained that, as F had to travel extensively about the country, it was impossible for him to be relied upon to be present at each meeting, and therefore it was not permissible for him to hold office. Even so, it is clear that one family had a good deal of influence on the Committee. The Treasurer usually is one who has some qualification for dealing with funds; for example, a student of Economic, Banking, or Accountancy, or one who has been settled in this country for some time, and has become established here, so that, if necessary, he can make advances from his own account to help the Mandal.

Owing to the alternation of Presidents, and the concentrating of power and control of Maharashtra Mandal in the hands of the older members, E maintained that any suggestion by a younger member, e.g. the Secretary, is immediately vetoed. He decided to stand for President himself within a year or two of the incidents described above, to see what would happen, and to stir things up a bit. He did not hold out great hopes of being elected, but said he did not feel it right that A and J should be consistently and alternately returned to the President's Chair unopposed. (1) At this time E also criticised the administration of Maharashtra Mandal funds, saying the personal element was too much involved, and he gave what he considered to be instances of this: for instance, a harmonium was bought, ostensibly for the use of the Mandal, when, in reality, "everyone knew" it was only because B's daughter had just started learning dancing and her father needed an instrument on which to accompany her. The same conditions applied to the purchase of tabla - these have since been lost.

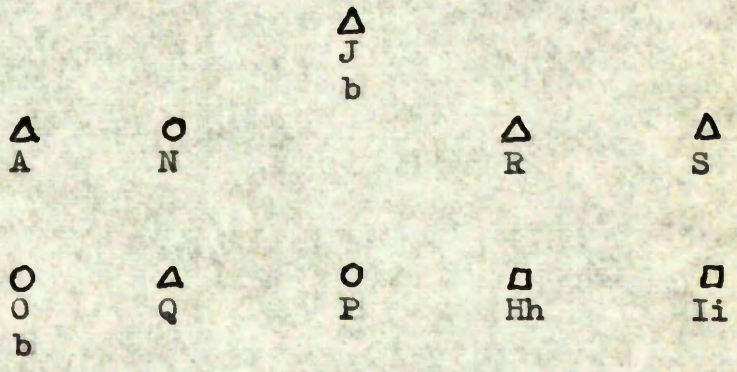
In 1961-62 a Constitution Reform Committee was formed of four members: E, K (a young woman student, non-Brahmin), L (also non-Brahmin, a clerk in India House and subsequently a travel agent), and M (a Brahmin, a Ph.D. in Electronics, employed by Marconi, and permanently settled, with his family, in U.K.) E. was elected to this Committee at the Annual General Meeting of Maharashtra Mandal without his knowledge, as he had to attend a meeting of

---

(1) For an account of E's background and circumstances see Case 6, ch.III.

another organisation on the same day. Later he and his fiancée visited M's home on a day's visit, but M himself was absent. E was told he had a meeting of the Maharashtra Mandal Constitution Reform Committee in London; E was asked why he was not there too, since he had been elected to the Committee. This was the first E had heard of it. He was very annoyed, and was decidedly not satisfied with the way things were being conducted: "these people have no idea of procedure." For a start, it appeared there was confusion over the terms of the main Constitution, and over what aspects had already been dealt with in previous reforms. E asked to see the written records of previous revisions, and was told there were none. This he denied, saying that when D was Secretary of Maharashtra Mandal records were always kept and preserved. (This was confirmed later by D). The other Committee members, especially L, denied having ever seen any such things, and anyway had no idea where they were now. E remarked that this was the disadvantage of having no permanent home for Maharashtra Mandal in London, where records could be kept safely. No further meetings were called before the next Annual General Meeting in 1962, so no progress was made.

Maharashtra Mandal AGM, 1961-62



Maharashtra Mandal Committee Plan 1961-62

△ = male O = female □ = sex unknown

b = Brahmin member

J:- President (see p. 215)

A:- Co-opted past President (see p. 215)

N:- Lady vice-president, an elderly well-established boarding-house proprietress in London, of many years residence in U.K.

O:- Ordinary member, wife of M (see p. 217).

P:- Joint Secretary, wife of an official of the Indian High Commission.

Q:- Ordinary member, student.

R:- Secretary, son-in-law to N.

S:- Treasurer, elderly clerk in India House, and boarding-house proprietor, of many years residence in U.K.

Hh:- Ordinary member.

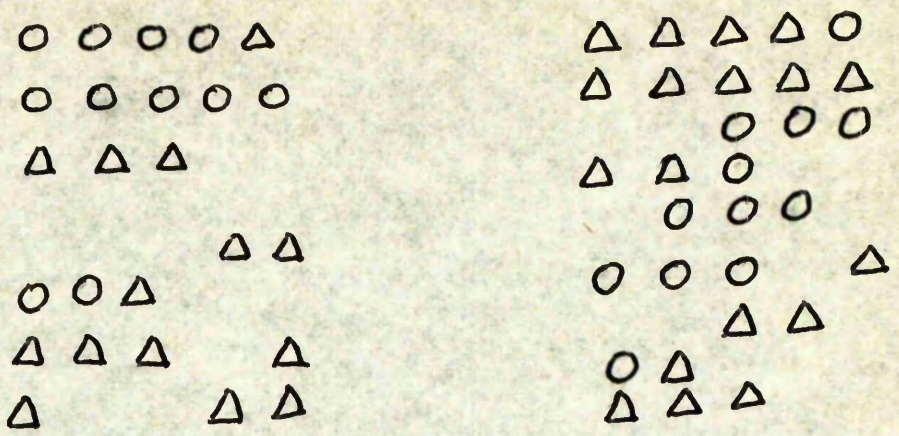
Ii:- Ordinary member.

It is clear from this plan that A and J were still alternating as President, and that there was now only one Brahmin office-holder on the Committee.

The attendance at this meeting was 72 adults (44 men and 28 women) and 15 children. These figures were calculated at the commencement of proceedings, i.e. 6 o'clock, by which time nearly all had arrived, although the meeting was scheduled to begin at 5.30 p.m. Many left before the end of the meeting, at about 10.30 p.m.

This meeting was held in a Church Hall in Golders Green, as is the usual practice. Membership of the Mandal remained at 5/- p.a., and in addition to this each member or guest on entering the hall paid 3/6 for refreshments served during the interval. On this occasion this was done even though it was announced by the President that the Lady Vice-President had provided all refreshments free of charge.

Seating arrangements during the meeting were quite informal, as can be seen from the seating plan on page 220. The occupation of seats was extremely fluid, so that the diagram can be taken as indicative only of the general situation. It was noticeable that married women, especially those with young children, tended to congregate together, as did the young unmarried women also. There was little free intermingling of the sexes, indeed, scarcely any at all between unmarried men and unmarried women.



SEATING PLAN (1)

The meeting was called to order by the President at 6 o'clock, and it was announced that although an entertainment had been planned for the first part of the programme, the script for this had not arrived from India. An impromptu arrangement was suggested. A number of subjects were written on folded slips of paper, which were to be taken one by one from a bowl by the Lady Vice-President. Members were expected to volunteer to address the meeting on any subject(s) of their choice. For the first three topics, certain members were prodded into speaking by the President, but after that he read out all remaining topics and asked members to take their pick. All Committee members, with the exception of one lady member, spoke. In the light of subsequent events, it is interesting to see what subjects were selected, and what were the alternatives offered. On the list below I have marked those topics which were chosen, who spoke on them (e.g. man or woman, committee member or non-committee member), and a brief summary of what was said.

1) What I would do were I elected President of Maharashtra Mandal for 1962. (Δ; E. Non-committee member, but member of Constitution Reform Committee).

2) What the real work of Maharashtra Mandal should be. (Δ; from the floor).

---

(1) This record is incomplete, since, when it was made, all members had not yet arrived, and still others were clustering round the doorman's desk at the rear of the hall. It does not include children.

3) What the President of Maharashtra Mandal should be like. (Δ; S. Committee member - Treasurer.) One of the points made was that a man's caste should make no difference to his appointment; that, as they were in Britain, they should forget these considerations, and should not give precedence to Brahmins just because they were Brahmins. (It will be noted that the speaker is himself a non-Brahmin).

4) The Immigration Bill.

5) India's position in a changing world.

6) Money is the most important thing in the world (O; O, and O; N, the Lady Vice President). Her main point was that intellect counted for more than wealth, and was ultimately of more value.

7) It is essential that child-marriage should be re-started. (The President remarked that this was one for the ladies; there were no takers, probably because the subject was far removed from probability or possibility).

8) When I went to the Queen for tea.

9) Of which country would you choose to be Prime Minister, and why? (Δ; Committee Member Q. He chose a small island somewhere in the depths of the ocean, where there would be no major problems for him to deal with. Considering the arguments and rivalries which were soon to be evident in Maharashtra Mandal, this Committee member's short talk held greater significance than was at first evident).

10) India gained Independence too soon.

11) Should India sever her Commonwealth connections when Britain joins the Common Market?

12) Prohibition is unjust.

13) Men should have complete freedom.

14) Indian students in London. (O; non-committee member, married, with two students as boarders. She stressed their difficulties, saying that very few finish their courses as they intended on arrival, and they do not attempt to change or adapt their conditions of life to the different society in Britain. They all want jobs of over Rs.500 per month if they return, though many do not----she blamed this on English girls. She drew attention to the amount of money wasted if students came over on scholarships and then failed to stay the course).

15) Tradition of Maharashtra.

16) Has India lost prestige, on account of the Goa operation, in the International field? (Δ; A, co-opted ex-President; and Δ; R, Secretary).
17) If I became an actress (O; non-Committee member).
18) When the Third World War will start.
19) Board and plate are better than table and chair for dining. (O; P, Joint Secretary. She spoke against eating at table, as Indians were used to having so many different dishes all at once, both sweet and savoury, that there was not enough room on a table. When eating with the fingers, it is better to raise the food to the mouth from the floor, as, if one tries to take liquids from a table, they tend to run down the arm).
20) My passenger in Space.

Roughly 50% of the topics were taken; unfortunately, however, none of the speakers stimulated any discussion - they spoke, and were goodnaturedly applauded. Of the speakers, four were women, six men. Four were non-Committee members, and addressed the meeting from the floor. Seven of the speakers spoke on subjects to do with India, or, at least, Maharashtra Mandal. In fact, all three subjects to do with the Mandal were taken; the first, namely: "What I would do were I elected President of Maharashtra Mandal for 1962" being used as a canvassing speech by E, the young Brahmin who had planned to stand for President. The current Treasurer, S, speaking on "What the President of Maharashtra Mandal should be like" made what was almost an opposition speech on grounds of caste. One of E's Brahmin supporters spoke from the floor on "What the real work of Maharashtra Mandal should be", and gave approximately the same opinions as E in his electioneering speech, namely: that the Mandal should serve as a cultural and social nexus for Maharashtrians in U.K., not only in providing them with a homely meeting place, but also increasing a sense of security by offering help in time of need. Thus electioneering speeches were made as part of an entertainment programme, both by the Presidential candidate and by an opponent, as private individuals and not as campaigners. This may be seen as one way in which the unity of the Mandal may be preserved: policy speeches are removed from an election context, and, while the points made, and their electioneering significance, are not lost on the audience, personal references and derogatory remarks are avoided.

When the business of this meeting was started, the first item on the agenda for discussion was the Constitution Reform Committee. The membership of this committee had changed during the year; two members had resigned and been replaced, and one additional member had been co-opted, so that there were now five members, namely: R, E, S, T (a Bar-at-Law student), and M. They were expected to produce a report on their progress towards Constitution reform at this Annual General Meeting, but no-one had anything prepared. At this 31 members of the Society submitted a formal request for an immediate meeting on constitution reform to be held. A resolution was put forward that the existing committee should continue in its present form. T expressed some hesitation and uncertainty as to whether he would be able to re-join the committee, but was pressed to do so. A side-issue arose at this point: an argument, which became quite heated, was started by a young man from the floor, who complained that he had sent a letter containing suggestions for subjects to be discussed at the A.G.M., but had had no acknowledgment, and the topics were not on the agenda. He asked if his letter had been received, and, further, suggested that a final date for letters containing such suggestions should be set. He was loudly and vehemently supported from the floor, some members complaining of similar experiences. Nothing was arranged about this, but there was an abrupt return to the original point at issue, and T announced that he possessed a previous draft of the Constitution, and had a few headings prepared, but that some items had been left over for further discussion. He had all this data at home. S then offered to withdraw from the committee, so that a woman member might be appointed. E spoke from the floor, saying he had missed the first meeting of the Committee because he was not informed of his appointment at all. He maintained they should cancel the existing Committee, and elect a new one immediately. U (a postgraduate University student) from the floor proposed a vote of no-confidence because of all this wrangling. He also proposed that T should be asked specially by Maharashtra Mandal to take his place on the Committee, in appreciation for previous efforts. This was acclaimed from the floor. Finally a new Committee was elected unanimously, consisting of: E, M, T, R, B, and K, two women to four men. Immediately this Committee was elected, the question as to who should be Convenor arose. A member from the floor

suggested that the A.G.M. should not be bothered with this point at this juncture; it should be left to the Committee to arrange. This was carried, and a break for refreshment followed.

Coffee, shev, chewda and jelabi were distributed, and P and O took round rosewater and perfume, and kum-kum, respectively. Finally, sesam and sugar (tilgul)were given to each member in individual packets, as is the custom at the festival of the Vernal Equinox (Mukarasankranta). The date of the A.G.M. being near that of this festival, the opportunity was taken to distribute tilgul.

About threequarters of an hour was taken up in refreshments and conversation, then the President called the meeting to order, and gradually all settled down. So much time was taken up in doing so, however, that the Secretary's reading of the Annual Report was almost totally inaudible.

A member, speaking in English, complained that the functions of the Mandal were not organised properly, and that that was the reason why members were not fully represented at the meetings; he also felt meetings were held too far away from central London, i.e. in Golders Green. There were one or two shouts of "Marathi!" while he was speaking in English. While addressing the meeting he mentioned by name one or two Committee members in a derogatory context; there were immediate objections from the floor - no personal feelings should be vented on such an occasion. The President then rose with a complaint: he had invited guests to a play performed by the Mandal, without first obtaining the sanction of the Committee; on arrival they were asked to pay their entry fee---"you do not use your common sense," stated the President. From the floor came a request to hear the other side of the disagreement. The doorkeeper, Z, rather bluntly pointed out that the President had said he was unable to sell any tickets for the drama - why, then, had he proved capable of finding guests? Another member spoke from the floor, saying that just because the President had been unable to sell tickets, perhaps because of lack of time, he did not forfeit the right to invite guests. The President again rose and said he had invited a man who had made a donation of £250 to Maharashtra Mandal, and had done so purely in recognition of his generosity. An objection was raised - that this meant that a man who donated only £1 must have the same honour. The President denied this, saying there was a difference between a donation of £250 and one of £1. Then E, in an

attempt to solve two issues in one go, moved that no names should be mentioned in the Minutes - a phrase such as "the Committee as a whole resolved" should be used instead - and that the President should have the right to invite guests, and Maharashtra Mandal should pay. These two motions were carried with only two dissenting - S and Z. After this, dissent about the £250 gift arose; the President said this was made to start a fund in order to buy a house as a permanent home for the Mandal, it was not meant as an annual donation, as some appeared to think. E interrupted, suggesting that the elections for next year's Committee should be held before starting on a lengthy discussion about the £250. Regardless of this suggestion, however, A stated that a few houses were actually inspected with a view to purchasing one for the Society. At this further uncontrolled discussion, completely out of order, arose.

E again moved that the elections should be held. This was ignored, and V, founder of the Poona Flood Relief Committee, complained from the floor that Maharashtra Mandal was demanding the records of this committee. He maintained they had no right to do this. He was called to the platform to put forward his case, and said that he had sent letters to the Secretary and President of Maharashtra Mandal, asking about forming a Committee for Flood Relief, but had been refused help. Independently they had raised £226 and R100. (There were shouts of "I oppose this!" from the Mandal committee). V mentioned the Secretary of Maharashtra Mandal in a derogatory manner, which brought him to his feet. A Committee member said that the only reason people were willing to give to the Flood Relief Committee was that Maharashtra Mandal's name was printed on the receipt. A member from the floor stated he had done more work than Maharashtra Mandal for this cause. At least four members were on their feet shouting simultaneously. There were shouts, clapping and stamping - this was obviously a sore point for all members. The President advised dropping the subject. V said R had told him Maharashtra Mandal would have nothing to do with the Fund, which was why a separate Committee was formed. Finally he capitulated, agreeing to the return of the records, saying that, after all, he was a member of the Mandal, and felt an affinity and affection for it, and had only made a fuss in the first place because he considered R had behaved irresponsibly.

The elections for the new Committee now began, though it was getting late, and most members had departed. No advance nominations had been received. E was proposed, seconded and returned unopposed as President. N was elected lady Vice-President, K Secretary. W, an accountant with the LCC, a fellow-Brahmin and close friend of E, became Treasurer, R (a draughtsman) Deputy Secretary. The retiring President suggested that the elected members should select the other Committee members, rather than keep the few remaining members there to elect them. This was agreed.

Membership of the Maharashtra Mandal Committee had been very solid and well-established; only Q and R could be said to belong to a younger set. The newly elected Constitution Reform Committee showed more of a "new guard" touch, since only 2 out of the six members, namely B and M, were of the older group. Under the newly-elected Executive Committee, the key offices, even that of President, were taken over by the younger set.

Dissatisfaction with the President was made clear in various ways: the argument over his right to invite guests (in this the President was supported by E, a shrewd move on his behalf, since it may have won over to him some who would have settled for the status quo, and it also safeguarded his own privileges for the coming year), and by U proposing a vote of no-confidence. J, too, had little control over the meeting; as many as four members would be on their feet at once, shouting at each other, regardless of his presence. In fact, he actually left the platform at one point for a few minutes, without delegating anyone to take the Chair, and the meeting continued without interruption.

The urge to seek friendly agreement, and avoidance of direct blame, were always outstanding. Each time a name was mentioned in derogatory manner there would be strong objections. E's motion that all personal references should be erased from the Minutes met with full approval.

I have described this Maharashtra Mandal Annual General Meeting in some detail because it does illustrate that although the election produced bitter argument and altercation, prolonged and uncontrolled from time to time, a unifying force is maintained by the social activities which co-exist with political motivations. A "consciousness of kind" is observable in the communal eating together, especially of ceremonial sweets, such as sesam and sugar, the sprinkling of rose-water and marking with kum-kum. There is the opportunity

to speak freely in Marathi, and praise traditional customs without fear of contradiction.

The first Maharashtra Mandal meeting under the President, E, was a successful one, purely social in character, and, in the emphasis on Maharashtra and the achievements of Maharashtrians, fulfilled the aims set fourth by the new President before his election. In spite of this, whisperings of disharmony had already arisen in that key duo of the voluntary association, President and Secretary. Since the AGM election, K had retired from her position as Secretary, owing to her return to India, and had been replaced by another non-Brahmin, R, originally elected as Deputy Secretary. E privately remarked that he was thinking of resigning altogether from the Mandal, since he found himself totally unable to agree with R, his secretary. In October 1962 a meeting was called primarily to discuss the draft of the new Constitution; few women and no children were present, indicating this was a business meeting, and also suggesting that trouble was brewing. There was, however, a brief entertainment before the meeting proper, and this was introduced by the Vice-President, as the President was late arriving, together with the Secretary. The Treasurer never turned up at all. When the official business started, there were 36 present, not all fully-paid-up members, therefore not all eligible to vote. As soon as the meeting was convened, it was adjourned by the President, on the grounds of lack of quorum. According to the Constitution, after an adjournment the President may re-convene a meeting whether there is a quorum or not, and this was done. Discussion of the draft Constitution now began. The first emendation to be passed was the simultaneous printing of its terms in Marathi and English, side by side, instead of in English only, as had been the original idea. The President was called upon to translate each clause from English into Marathi before the meeting, as it was discussed. Certain matters of terminology were clarified in process of this. Clause 4 of Article II mentioned the establishment of a "guidance service" for Maharashtrians in London. The Vice-President explained that this meant an information service, especially for new arrivals. Since the President had just started a new enterprise in the form of an information service for Indians in London, this appeared as a bit of free publicity.

There was discussion of the different types of membership of the Mandal: Ordinary, Life, Patrons and Associates. Subscriptions differed for all of

these. An elderly man, non-Brahmin, then rose and suggested a separate category of membership for "temporary members", who might be staying in London for only 3-6 months. It was put forward that they should be eligible for ordinary membership, carrying voting rights, at only a fraction of the annual subscription. There was much heated opposition, and the general opinion was that such temporary visitors should be regarded as associate members, with reduced subscription but no voting rights, and this was finally passed. The matter did not end here, however. The elderly spokesman was unwilling to accept defeat, and he was supported by the doorman and R. He renewed his motion that there should be a separate category of temporary membership. He was ruled out of order by E, but opposition was immediately forthcoming from R and his friends, who now developed quite openly into a hostile set. E stood his ground, and made a ruling on the subject, namely: all who were not covered by the categories of Ordinary Membership, Life Membership or Patronage should be considered Associate Members. He pointed out that if this ruling was not acceptable it would amount to a vote of no confidence and a challenge to the chair. Those not directly concerned in the controversy now intervened, asking R's set to withdraw their demands on this occasion, to accept the President's ruling for the time being, and reserve their opposition until the A.G.M. For a time this eased matters, but finally the Secretary's action set refused to be put off, and issued a challenge to the Chair. It was now time to vacate the hall, the President closed the meeting, and agreed to answer the vote of no-confidence at the next meeting, when the Vice-President would take the Chair. The meeting began to break up rapidly; but it was then discovered that one man, a Brahmin friend of E's, who had been very loquacious in discussion (and had loudly recommended raising the membership fee) was in actual fact not a member at all, and had only been allowed to speak and vote at the meeting by special and private arrangement with E, to whom he had vaguely promised a subscription at some future date. He privately admitted he "couldn't care either way" what type of Constitution was passed. He left the hall immediately, but the President was detained by the rival group to answer for his conduct. He told the man concerned that he had had no right to vote; this upset him, and he maintained that E had told him to take a full part in the meeting as long as he told no-one he was not a fully-paid-up member of the Mandal, and as long as he supported E - which, to do him justice, he did

throughout. At the A.G.M. E resigned, and N became President. During the coming year, however, E was co-opted onto the Committee, and served as acting President by invitation of N, who did not feel capable for the job. During 1963 E continued to show his concern with the Mandal, even going to the extent of circularizing Mandal members, urging them to attend Annual General Meetings, to use their votes, and to think whether those standing for election were capable of serving on the Committee.(1) Subsequent to these events, there was a gradual drifting away of Brahmins from the Mandal; none were represented on the Executive Committee, and they spoke bitterly of "the great sell-out". It is interesting that a new organisation, composed overwhelmingly of Maharashtrian Brahmins, sprang up in South London, where there is a substantial number of them. So far this exists only for social purposes, and is loosely organised, but I am told by some Brahmins that it is pleasant "to do something we like with people with whom we have something in common." A few North London Brahmins go to the South London organisation in preference to Maharashtra Mandal, which always meets in Golders Green, and is really much more convenient for them.

In Figure II I have shown the enduring factions of Maharashtra Mandal as they existed synchronically. E and R are the two principal protagonists who emerged; they mobilised potential cleavages which constantly threatened, until the two leaders exploited them. F and B, man and wife, though not active campaigners on R's behalf, were nevertheless opposers of D and E's use of English in Maharashtra Mandal activities in 1956-57, in agreement with S and N. J and A, previous alternating Presidents, did not participate actively in faction in-fighting, although J privately supported E. A never adhered to either faction; being a well-established G.P. it was in his interests not to do so. On the contrary, he appears as a go-between, as, for instance, in the D and F incident.

---

(1) E was elected President again in 1969 when the furore described above had died down and he was able to marshall effective support once again. In 1970 he was re-elected President; out of the eight Committee members, 5 were fellow Brahmins.

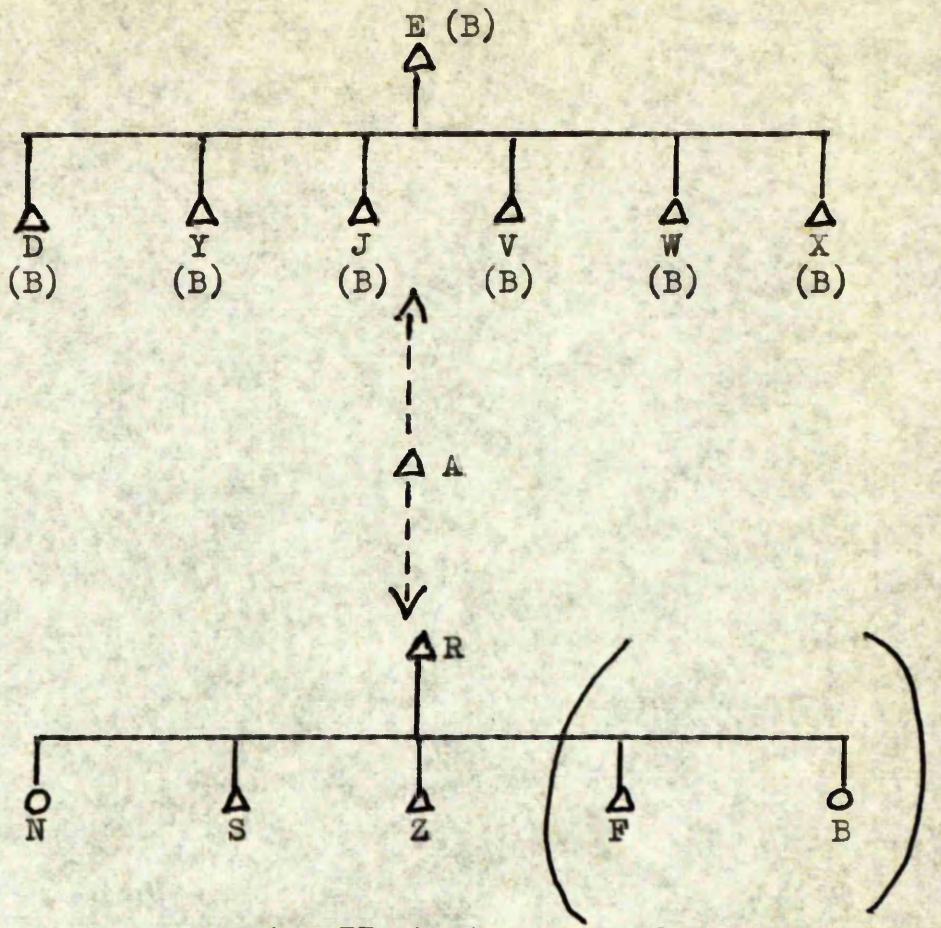


Fig. II Action sets of E and R

Key:-

(B) = Brahmin

() = former opponents of E and D, supporters of S and N, and, indirectly, of R.

Although E's faction, as shown above, appears numerically stronger, therefore making his defeat at the hands of R and his supporters seem impossible, when we consider the potential support capable of being drummed up by R's faction members, it becomes clear that the itemised supporters signify the tip of the iceberg only. N is R's mother-in-law; it is significant that she became President-elect when E resigned, her son-in-law retaining his position as secretary; he could then dominate both these key positions, N being a simple, illiterate, though kindly and generous elderly boarding-house owner. Her tenants are all Maharashtrians, some being present at the meeting described above. It was clearly not in their interests to oppose either N or R, who, with his wife and family, lived with N. N has several adult children,

some married, living in London; those unmarried live at home with her, and these children provide a network of kin ties ready for mobilisation in her support, and, through her, in R's.

S, too, is head of a large family, living with him in London. Although he is employed as a clerk, his main income comes from a series of boarding-houses in North-West London. Thus he has a wide circle of potential supporters, linked to him by both kinship and economic ties. Z is an old friend and caste-fellow of his; he is a bachelor, and cannot summon up relations to back him; but their support is mutual and grounded on a long-established friendship link and caste membership.

E's supporters were of the student/young professional type chiefly, whose kin linkages were not extensive - even non-existent in some cases. Economic links valid in Britain were absent too; none owned boarding-houses or businesses, all were comfortably off. Interfamily ties in India did exist, but chiefly through friendship, not marriage. Certain India-Britain economic links were operative too; for instance, should W, who comes from a well-to-do family in India, need money in Britain, for house-purchase or suchlike, D would help him if he were able, on condition the money was repaid in rupees to D's relations in India. Such links are ephemeral; but they are based on more enduring intra-caste friendships both here and in India. For instance, should E visit India he would be asked to visit D's father or brother and give him up-to-date news and a present; if S were to go back to Maharashtra for a holiday, D would certainly not ask him to contact his family.

Of E's supporters, X was the one who could summon up the most kinship contacts, and even these were sparse. He was married, his wife being in London with him, as well as his brother-in-law and his wife; but there the circle ended. J and D were married to Western women, thus their fields of influence were restricted in this context. Y and V were single students; for them only friendship links among Mandal members could be activated. W was married, with a wife in London, but with no relatives over here at the time. It is clear that R's three chief supporters were in a position to summon help from a wider network consisting of friends, relations and clients, all present in London, than E's backers, whose operative ties were those of friendship mainly, both here and in India. Such voluntary friendship ties are based on a "consciousness of kind" arising from similarity of social background and

culture, like tastes and standards and a common value system, and in India these are most likely to be found among fellow caste members from the same linguistic area of origin. E's chief supporters listed above, like E himself, were Brahmins; of differing sub-castes, it is true, but still of the supreme varna. Sub-castes are not effective in this context; since numbers are comparatively small, it is the varna which are significant for organisational purposes, although, should the numbers of any varna increase considerably, the sub-castes would offer traditional and institutionalised lines of cleavage. R and his chief supporters are Vaishyas, and owing to caste endogamy, the circle of their kin is also. S it was who pinpointed the caste situation in his speech as part of the entertainment programme before the 1962-63 Committee elections; his announcement that, as they were now in England they should forget caste considerations showed that he had been thinking of them, and this reference obviously made others consider the opposing factions and work out their caste content. An astutely-timed negative evaluation of a traditional fusion-point can react positively by promoting awareness of subconscious group ties so that they develop into a reasoned activity.

In examining the parts played by A, F and B, and the marginal nature of their position between the opposing groups, their caste affiliation must be taken into account. A, F and B are all of the Saraswat sub-caste, and call themselves Brahmins. However, in Maharashtra the traditionally established Brahmin hierarchy of sub-castes refuses to countenance them as equals, and this is carried through to the U.K., and is, seemingly, mutual. Though A and his family have a number of Brahmin friends whom they visit frequently, he is likely to exclaim: "Oh, you Brahmins always think that!" or "You Brahmins are all the same!" Every achievement of his family's - the purchase of a second car, his daughter's entry to University, his son's acceptance at a Grammar School - is boasted of, especially to Brahmin friends who cannot equal such things. He will deliberately scoff at Secondary Modern Schools in front of his Brahmin friend's son who attends one, and compare them unfavourably with Grammar Schools. F and B follow the same pattern, and boast of their flat and material acquisitions, showing discomfiture should a Brahmin friend buy a house. F it was who voiced his disapproval at D's English announcements at an entertainment, at a very early stage in the growth of this anti-Brahminism, in 1956-57. On this occasion A, with his ambivalent attitudes towards

Brahmins, acted as mediator. F and B, though not active supporters of R in his dispute with E, nevertheless voted in his favour. When J, the Brahmin President of Maharashtra Mandal in 1961-62, faced a challenge regarding a gift of £250 to the Mandal, A, the co-opted ex-President, spoke in an attempt to reassure the questioners, allying himself with J. These Saraswats, then, appear to occupy a marginal position. Through his strong friendship links with them, A aligns himself with the Brahmins, although he be not fully accepted by them; he tends to act as go-between, as peacemaker between opposing groups if this be possible. F and B are not linked so closely with Brahmins by friendship ties; and there is also a possibility that, if the Brahmins are eased from authoritative positions in Maharashtra Mandal, Saraswats will lose the main competition for office. Therefore F and B voted in support of R. It is interesting to note that subsequently A has joined the predominantly Brahmin South London Maharashtrian Social Club, whereas F and B have not, and still remain Maharashtra Mandal members.

Punjabi Association

A successful "take-over bid" was also staged in the Punjabi Association. (By this I mean that the establishment was routed, not merely defeated and left to fight another day). The Punjabi Association was founded in 1929, among just a few friends, for social and cultural purposes. It was intended not for Punjabis only, but also for their friends of any nationality who were interested in the Punjab. All were eligible for full membership, whether Punjabi-speakers or not. Due to various disruptive circumstances (e.g. joining the army, reduced numbers of students and immigrants coming to England, and evacuation), the Association petered out during the Second World War years. In 1950 it was re-started by members of the previous organisation; there were only nine members at first, but membership swelled to 450 in 11 years. Punjabi, although always spoken in small, intimate gatherings of members, is not compulsory in meetings; a man can choose to speak in English if he prefers ("We are broadminded," said my informant), and it is always used if there are English people present, out of politeness; there were, before the change of leadership, English full members.

The Executive Committee consists of 15-17 members; 17 is the maximum number allowed, including co-opted members. These occur because occasionally elected Committee members leave to visit India during their term of office,

or go home altogether, or become apathetic and ignore meetings. In any of these cases, other members may be co-opted onto the Committee by the other Committee members; since the need would arise between Annual General Meetings, there was no machinery by which these supplementary Committee members might be democratically elected. On the Committee were six office-holders: President, 2 Vice-Presidents, Secretary, Assistant Secretary, and Treasurer. The rest were Ordinary Committee members.

One-third of the Committee retires each year; in other words, members are elected in groups of five (not counting optional co-opted members) for a three-year period, after which they are again immediately eligible for re-election if they so wish. For instance, my informant was Treasurer for 2 years, 1950-52, then he became Secretary for the succeeding 9 years without a break. This is an extreme case, since he was the only Committee member to serve for such a long period by re-election without interruption, but it does show that one member can hold the same office on the Committee for a substantial period. Women members of the association are encouraged to stand for election to the Committee, but they appear reluctant to put themselves forward; however, there is usually a representation of at least three. The subscription for full members rose from 5/- to 10/- annually.

Election arrangements for new Committee members were interesting. The existing Committee would meet and decide on certain names which they felt it would be a good thing to put forward for election at the forthcoming AGM; at that meeting, these would generally be returned unopposed by the voters. Should they query the Committee's choice, they were at liberty to offer other names for election.

Meetings were usually monthly, and consisted of dinners, tea-parties, picnics, boat trips, theatre parties, outings, visits to places of interest. There is no permanent home for the Association, so halls had to be rented for indoor functions.

Before 1961 the leadership of the Punjabi Association rested primarily in the hands of Punjabi Hindus, but this state of affairs was suddenly disrupted by an influx of young Sikhs from the Shepherd's Bush gurudwara. My informant put the then Committee's feelings into words: "The Sikhs found a going concern, running smoothly, and couldn't resist getting in and pushing themselves, in a desire for power." When the Committee realised this, they did

not make a fight of it at the AGM, but resigned en bloc - "to let them get on with it." Since then, my informant said, membership considerably dropped, and there is not the same good attendance at meetings - the professional men have given up, and the Association is dominated by factory workers from the gurudwara. Although my informant said he went along to one or two meetings after his resignation, none of his friends, nor anyone of equivalent status was there, so he did not go again. Factions continued to spring up after the take-over, and a rival Punjabi Association was founded. This splinter group invited my informant to a dinner before his last trip to India, to honour him for the work he had done in the past for the Association. This was done to emphasize their separateness from the main Punjabi Association (and, to quote my informant, "to gain prestige from my presence at one of their meetings".)

At first it would appear surprising that the established leadership gave up as soon as its position was challenged, without even seeking a compromise or showing any opposition. On closer examination, there appear two reasons which can account for this:

1) The challenge came from a different religious group - the Sikhs, and therefore the cultural ties which would have provided an underlying unity had the challengers been other Punjabi Hindus, were absent.

2) The challengers were newly-joined young men of the working-class; something of an unknown quantity to the existing leadership consisting of professional and businessmen. No ties of kinship or friendship links within the association had been established or built up which could be used either to control the challengers or to work out a compromise satisfactory to both sides.

The localised political interaction of most of the regional associations may best be considered as a series of "confrontations" (used in F. G. Bailey's sense) with the occasional "encounter" which has the effect of periodically establishing a generally acceptable leadership, at least for a period of time, until either new challengers arise, or the old ones reappear with fresh, or re-phrased, grounds for conflict.

Bailey describes the practice of doladoli in Orissa: the constant disputation between contending parties in village politics. Such argument did not end in physical conflict, as was often the case among Pathans; in Orissa it remains "a battle of words".

> "....the game was played very much within the rules and the contestants exercised considerable self-restraint. One would not have thought so watching them in action in the panchayat, faces contorted with fury or fixed in a mask of bitter contempt. It is true that the rancour was indeed great: there was no pretence of reconciliation, as we have when contestants are expected to shake hands after the battle is over. In a sense, the battle never was over; even in non-arena situations, the leaders of the opposing dolo were watchfully and coldly polite towards one another; never friendly. Nevertheless many holds were barred. Neither side committed substantial resources to the conflict. They did not try to impoverish one another or in other ways to inflict substantial and material damage upon a rival's political capital. They closed ranks rapidly in the face of external opposition, when a real tragedy struck, or when a common and urgent task had to be completed. Nor did they take their quarrels outside the village by bringing suits against one another in the Government courts.....these internal dissensions were not allowed to damage the public interest of the whole community." (1)

The Maharashtra Mandal account shows a series of confrontations, which Bailey describes as moves in the political game which tell "the opponent about the mover's strength in resources and about his intentions. There is a limited range of possible counter-moves and very often both contestants know what this range is." (2) Thus we find the two temporary resignations of D as Mandal secretary, which amounted to challenges to an "encounter" - a public settlement of the relative strengths of the contestants - averted by the mediating action of A and E; accusations by E of misuse of Mandal funds before his election as President; E's demand for records of Constitution reforms, non-availability of which delayed discussion by the Constitution Reform Committee, so that it was his term as President which had the drafting of the new constitution to its credit; S's speech on the type of person to be elected as Mandal President; E's talk on his primary aims of elected President - an electioneering speech in a social context; an ordinary member's criticisms from the floor of the organisation of the AGM; E's objections to the functioning of the Constitution Reform Committee; the dispute between the President

---

(1) F. G. Bailey, 1970. p.90.
(2) Ibid., p.28.

and Z, the doorkeeper, over admittance of guests to the Mandal's annual drama; V's attack on the Mandal secretary over the administration of the Poona Flood Relief Committee; U's proposal of a vote of no-confidence in the President, and, later, under E's presidency, a repetition of this technique by R. Such a challenge to the Chair, indeed, seems to be the decisive signal for an "encounter"; on other occasions mediators come forward, attempting either to divert the challenger or to bring the altercation to an abrupt, albeit indecisive, end, incidentally leaving it open for possible re-arousal in future. Although the chief protagonists in the regional associations may remain the same over a period of a few years, the support they mobilise for their action-sets, even if based on the same, or similar, attributes, e.g. caste, friendship, economic obligation, may differ in individual content, the student/professional body itself constantly changing its members, while retaining its characteristics. Only if kinship ties with fellow-members, who are themselves permanent or semi-permanent residents, exist, may there be a suggestion of factional growth (see p.248).

In view of Bailey's comments (see previous page) on the united front offered by a community faced by an outside challenge, despite internal disagreements, it is worth noting that though Maharashtrians worked together for the Poona Flood Relief Fund and made it successful, <u>afterwards</u> it was permissible to use dissatisfaction over the organisation of such a fund as a means to instigate a "confrontation". Bailey's remarks on the controlled use of such "confrontations", which bend but do not break a community, are also relevant here: only the Punjabis are running two separate and accepted regional associations simultaneously, and the reasons for the split, outlined on p. 235, support Bailey's contention. Although the Kerala Association remained dormant for about two years, it re-started in the same form, admittedly with a different leadership, but with several members the same. The Bengali Institute remains united; and the latest information from Maharashtra Mandal is that as E regains the Presidency, the Brahmin breakaway movement is curtailed. (In the 1970 drama, written by a Chitpavan Brahmin resident in London, six of the seven parts were taken by Brahmin members of the Mandal). Bailey also remarks the avoidance of courts of law by contenders in the Orissan village: there was only one occasion in the history of Maharashtra Mandal when such interference threatened: a member was on the

point of bringing a law-suit on the grounds of misuse of Mandal funds. It is interesting that, although several members considered he had right on his side, they withdrew their support following the threat of litigation, saying: "We do not act this way with our own people." E himself, though he privately thought the funds needed thorough investigation, remarked: "This will be the end of the Mandal - this could not have happened a few years ago." So great was the opposition that the threat of litigation was withdrawn.

It is useful to bear in mind the functions and practice of "confrontations" and "encounters" and their effect in the description of the internal politics of the cosmopolitan London University India Society which follows.

U.L.U. India Society

I shall consider finally a dispute in one of the all-India organisations, the India Society formed for and run by full-time internal University students, both under-graduate and post-graduate. Being one of the clubs sponsored by the Student's Union at London University, this club meets, free of charge, on the Union premises, and its constitution and rules must conform to those laid down by the Union for all its societies.

The India Society at London University Union is, like all the other national societies there, e.g. Pakistan Society, Welsh Association, etc., open to all who are interested in the culture of the country concerned, regardless of their own race. Indeed, for one session the Honorary Secretary of the India Society was an Englishman who had a lively interest in Indians and Indian affairs, so even to be an office-holder it was not necessary to be Indian. Membership is even open to individuals who are not actually members of the Union itself, although such members have no voting rights in the society, and cannot occupy official positions. In the following account I hope to show how, in spite of its theoretically cosmopolitan membership, the political in-fighting of the association can be regionally determined, and even influenced by intra-regional caste membership. It is interesting that the regional group active on this occasion was North Bihari: an area of India not represented by a regional/linguistic association in London: the significance of this was not missed by my informants.

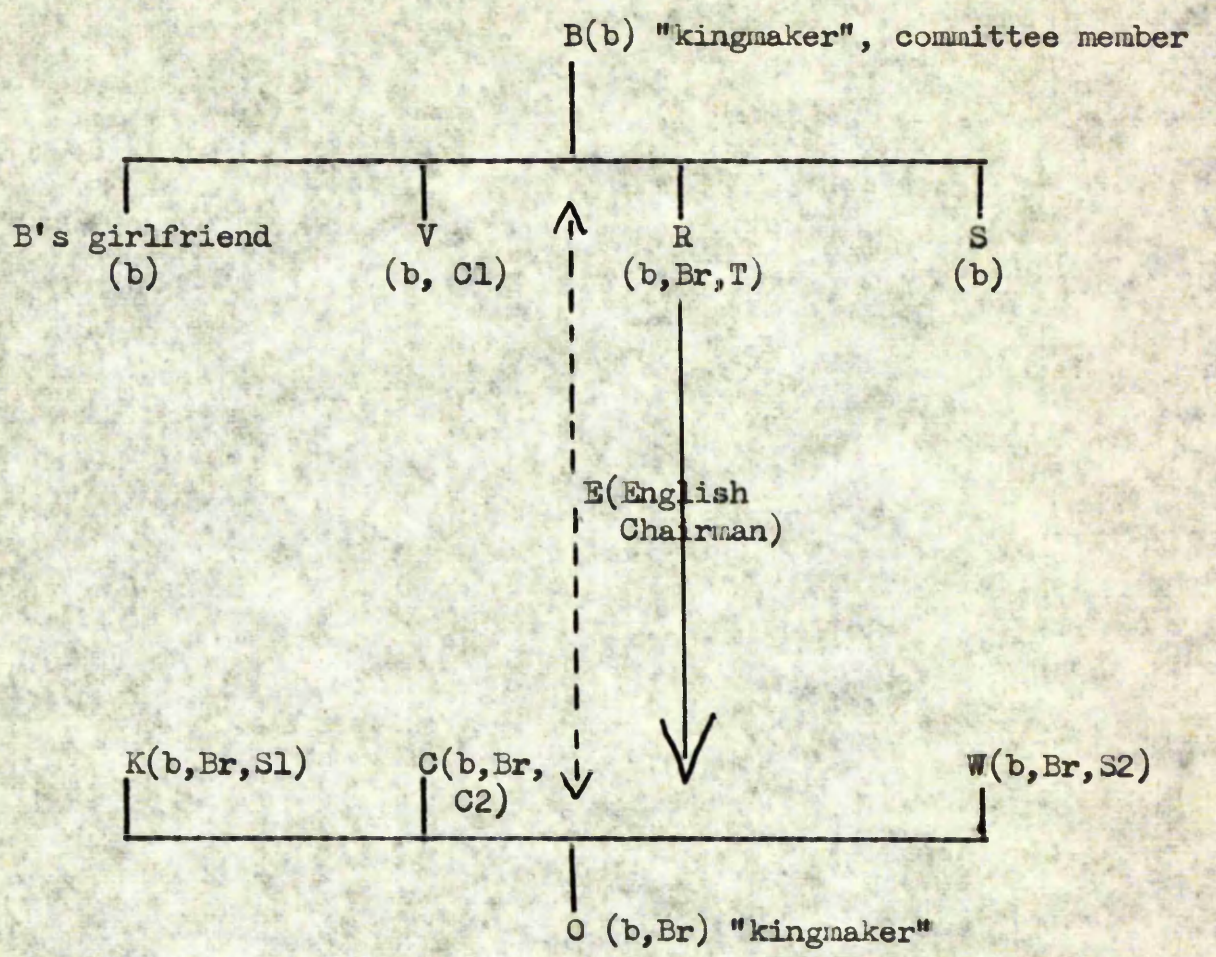
In recent years, membership of the India Society was falling (subscription - 7/6 per annum), and the number of events organised by the Society

within U.L.U. was very few, although during the session 1965-66 a very successful Indian film show was held, the popularity of which was enhanced by the fact that prizes were allotted to certain seat numbers, kept secret until after the performance, when those occupying the selected seats won their gifts. Gradually a feeling of dissatisfaction was voiced among members, who felt that organisation of the Society was being dominated by Bihari students. I was informed that this was because there was no Bihari regional association in London to which they could devote their energies, and through which those who wished could compete for positions of leadership. One student in particular became the scapegoat, whom I shall term B. He had remained on the committee, though not in positions of authority, for 7 years, ever since he came to Britain. He was held to be "the power behind the throne", a "kingmaker" (1) - he had many influential contacts within the Indian student community, which he was able to mobilise in the event of elections. His Indian girl-friend was also a forceful personality, who had a following among other male Indian students, who, while admiring her as very beautiful and lively, also somewhat feared her for her independent thinking and decisive manner. Her own contacts, then, were also wide and influential. Through her attachment to him, B's own prestige rose, as it was generally felt that a man who could hold such a woman must be a powerful character. At elections of the India Society, B was active in nominating friends from Bihar to the powerful positions of Chairman, Treasurer, etc., who were regarded as his "stooges", while "he sits in his room and runs the whole show from there". In 1965, a Bihari friend of B's, V, was elected as Chairman of the India Society. V was elected to this office in the Spring, but left the University at the end of the 1964-5 session. As he was no longer a member of U.L.U., according to the Society's rules he should have resigned from his position as Chairman. This he did not do, however, and this unconstitutional act provided a loophole for

---

(1) To be termed a "kingmaker" a man must either hold, or have held, official positions himself in Indian associations in London, the more well-known and long-established the better. Thus he broadens his personal field of influence; for instance O, B's primary "off-stage" opponent, was prominent in London Majlis, and therefore able to mobilise many of its student members on this occasion. Thus the "kingmaker" can influence even organisations of which he is not a member, and, although he may be unable to hold official positions therein himself, he can increase his prestige by making known his support of the winning candidate.

Fig.III. Action sets represented at India Society, U.L.U. A.G.M. 1966.



KEY:

b = Bihari;

Br = Brahmin;

S = Secretary;

S1 = Secretary of V's committee;

S2 = Secretary of C's committee;

T = Treasurer;

C = Chairman;

C1 = Chairman of first committee (V);

C2 = Chairman of second committee (C).

B's opponents to attack him through V. The Treasurer, a fellow-Bihari, began to turn against B, maintaining that B was collecting subscriptions and keeping them in his rooms, so that the Treasurer, R, had no idea of the financial state of the Society and could not balance his books. B's opponents seized upon this evidence, and ultimately got R on to their side. The Secretary, K, who, at the 1965 elections, was the only candidate for the Committee to be elected in opposition to B's wishes, and who, in actual fact, is a powerful figure in the Indian student community in his own right, and known, like B, as a "kingmaker", now formally charged V with an unconstitutional act in remaining Chairman while not being a member of U.L.U. V still did not resign. K appealed to the Union authorities, thus calling in forces completely external to the India Society. The Union authorities now took over the affairs of the Society, and examined every aspect of their activities and records. When it was time for the new elections in the Spring of 1966, these were organised by the Union authorities themselves, and the Social Secretary, E, was asked to take the Chair at the A.G.M. (1) A circular letter was sent by E to all members of the India Society one month before the elections, telling them what was happening, and explaining that only those holding U.L.U. membership cards would be allowed to vote. Prospective voters also had to be fully paid up members of the India Society. They were allowed a fortnight's grace to pay their subscriptions and to obtain U.L.U. cards, if eligible for them. Subscriptions were to be paid to E, made out in the name of the India Society. (In fact, recruitment to membership of the India Society continued right up to the last minute, the day of the elections itself). Union officials asked Committee members to supply them with lists of paid-up India Society members, together with a note of their Colleges.

The A.G.M. was scheduled for 7.30 p.m. on March 22nd. During the weeks immediately preceding the election, membership of India Society had increased from about 130 to 400. These new members were not all Indian; some were

---

(1) When the London-based Indian Architects' Association was facing probable internal disputes at its A.G.M., an outsider, an Indian Schoolmaster was asked by the President to take the Chair in his place, since it was agreed an outsider would be unbiased in judgment. An outsider is also a safe scapegoat if things go wrong; all may blame him with impunity, and the unity of the Association remains assured.

Far Eastern, others English, but there were no Africans. They had joined the India Society through Indian friends who were already members, and who were canvassing for votes for one or other of the contestants. It is understood that C and S, both Biharis, the two new candidates for the post of Chairman, and the principal protagonists therefore, had each spent about £50 out of their own pockets, paying the subscriptions for new members in return for a pledge of their votes. O, also Bihari, a former committee member of India Society, but now no longer a member of U.L.U., and therefore not eligible to vote, had nevertheless campaigned vigorously on C's behalf. In previous years, O had been termed a "kingmaker". His efforts on this occasion became rather indirect, and decidedly scurrilous at times: mysterious rumours began to circulate concerning B's girlfriend. A, a Syrian Christian from Malabar, became innocently implicated, as the girl had sent him a Christmas card, and he had returned the compliment - O and his colleagues then began mischievously to call the girl "A's girlfriend", much to his distress - it was obviously an attempt to undermine B's position in this matter. Shortly after this, a more damaging rumour circulated, alleging the girl was pregnant. A was told this with great glee, much to his discomfort. Whether the idea was to discredit the girl in the eyes of many who might support her and B, or whether it was intended that the rumour should connect her with A in this respect, thus undermining B completely, is doubtful; perhaps it did not really matter, as long as the rumours had some effect. Certainly A became alarmed at his possible implication, and tried to withdraw as much as possible from the competition, repeatedly saying he "did not want to become involved". He warned O that he could be accused of slander, after which these false rumours tended to die down a little.

On the evening of the elections, all entrances to the hall where they were to be held were strictly controlled by Union officials, armed with lists of members of India Society who were also Union members, therefore having a right to vote. To avoid confusion later, only such members were allowed into the body of the hall; other observers sat in the balcony. On the platform were E, as Chairman of the meeting, K, who read his report accusing V of unconstitutional actions, R, who submitted his Treasurer's report, and V, who appeared in person to face out the charges, some thought unwisely. His presence on the platform was repeatedly challenged from the floor; but E said

V was there at his invitation, since he was a central figure in the dispute, and as he took no part at all in the conduct of the meeting or the voting, it was difficult to understand what objections could be held to his presence, except through emotionalism. Although O was not actually a Union member at this time, he was fortunate enough to get into the hall by borrowing a U.L.U. membership card, whereupon he was given a voting paper.

The Treasurer's report was given a mixed reception; he defended himself by saying that E and the Union authorities had gone over his accounts, and verified them as correct. This was accepted, but there were repeated demands from the floor as to why he had not paid monies received into an account opened in the India Society's name at a Bank, according to the rules. He replied that no Treasurer had done so previously, and he was unaware at the time of this rule, but that an account had now been opened, existing funds had been paid in, and an outstanding amount of £80 from recent subscriptions would be included at the earliest opportunity. E supported him by saying that there were many rules which officials of Union clubs were unaware of until they were brought to the notice of those concerned, and with this the questioners had to be content.

The two candidates for the Chairmanship, C and S, were now called to the platform to address the meeting for 3 minutes each. C, amid much heckling, which disconcerted him considerably, as he was already very nervous at the temper of the meeting, outlined his plans for the future of the India Society, among them the prospect of one or two daily papers from India in U.L.U., Indian film and cultural shows there, arranged trips to places in Britain and on the Continent. He appealed that India Society should be more representative of Indian students as a whole, instead of being controlled by a Committee of 7, out of whom 5 were Biharis. Very creditably, in view of the heckling, he managed to present his case in the 3 minutes allowed. S, unfortunately, when faced with the heckling, lost his temper with the meeting, although initially he seemed more self-possessed than C. He began to shout at the members, asking them where was their loyalty to V, whom they had previously elected Chairman, pointing to him as he sat on the platform and shouting down objectors. When his three minutes was up, he had not even begun to outline his plans for the future. It was at this point that the election was won for C, as came to light afterwards; many of those who favoured S were

told by their friends: "Is this what you are going to vote for? Come on now, change your minds!" S himself, after the meeting, recognised that this was where he had failed. Questions from the floor were then put to the two candidates: one asked what previous positions in College or University associations had been held by them. S had been President of his own College's India Society, C had been Chairman of the students' committee at the Indian Students Hostel. Whenever a question was asked, however, the meeting degenerated into hopeless disorder; the Chairman finally ruled he was accepting no more questions to either candidate, since members did not appear to have enough interest to listen to their answers.

At this point, some members started to leave the meeting, apparently having pressing business elsewhere. These, the first being an elderly Englishman, placed their voting papers, already marked, on the Chairman's table. He warned that these votes would not be counted, as the election had not yet been declared open. Altogether six papers had been placed on his desk, but when he issued his warning, one member reclaimed his voting paper, leaving five on the Chairman's table. An Indian Muslim, F, now challenged the Chairman's ruling from the floor. E replied that he was not prepared to accept challenges to the Chair at this meeting, that he had gone to a great deal of trouble for the India Society, and that he had been requested to take the Chair and conduct the elections as a favour to the Society. F shouted that he did not care, that he did not accept the Chair's ruling. E repeatedly ordered him to sit down, but F continued shouting, and announced: "I do not intend to be dictated to by you or anyone else!" E called for silence, then warned F that if he did not sit down he would walk out of the hall, call a porter, and get him thrown out of the building; then, the following morning, would see the President of the Union and get F's membership rescinded. F shouted: "You can call for the Prime Minister for all I care...." His subsequent remarks were drowned in laughter, and a few of his friends succeeded in getting him quietened down. It should be noted that F is a well-known trouble-maker in meetings of this kind.

Voting was now declared open; E requested that members should mark their voting papers, remain seated, and officials of the Union would pass among them with waste-paper baskets, to collect the votes, which they would then count. There was immediate chaos, as people rushed towards the nearest

vote-collector. Many then left the meeting, but, as the Chairman pointed out, it was not yet closed, and he asked if anyone wanted to bring up anything under Any Other Business. A student, W, who was a candidate for the post of secretary, and a supporter of C, then came to the platform, and gave a short speech saying that, although C's supporting panel of candidates did indeed come from various parts of India, 5 out of the 7 came from the Institute of Education, and was this really fair or democratic? "I come from the Institute myself," he added, "so you may call me a traitor if you like!" He said he was speaking after voting had taken place, so that his own views would not influence the result. The meeting was then adjourned for half an hour while votes were counted. From Fig.III it is clear that although non-Biharis were present on C's committee, they took no active part in securing his election as chairman.

The result was that C and his 6 supporters carried the day, C himself getting a majority of 43; substantial in the circumstances. After the result was declared, S's supporters spread rumours that as many as 35 votes, which had been cast too early, had been torn up by the Chairman, after taking a vote, when he had warned members who had decided to leave early that he would ignore their votes. As stated above, the Chairman's ruling in respect of these votes had been fiercely questioned from the floor at the time, and, although his ruling had been carried by 39 votes to 36, there was obviously a considerable body of opinion left unmollified. The number of votes torn up was grossly exaggerated after the meeting by S's supporters, from 5 to 35. They went so far as to draw up a letter of protest and present it to S for him to sign; he flatly refused their request, however, realising that he had been fairly defeated. In any case, even 35 votes would have made no difference to the result, and who was to know whether or not all of them had been cast for S and his panel?

In discussion after the meeting it appeared that the lining up of the opposing sides, although not on a regional basis (for though S's panel were predominantly Bihari, there was strong Bihari representation on C's side too), it was nevertheless based on traditional factors, namely, those of caste. C's panel was predominantly Brahmin, the other drew on lower castes, mainly Kshatriya. This raises the interesting point that although primary divisions may be those of area of origin, and these are uppermost in the

student mind, secondary divisions may be those of caste. The Biharis, having no regional association of their own in London, were strongly concentrated in the official positions of the India Society; even though C campaigned on the basis on making the Society more of an all-India one, the basic contest was still Bihari v. Bihari, but within the Bihari group action sets were formed on a caste basis.

Although the main plank of C's reforming campaign was that the India Society's Committee should have an all-India representation, the Committee formed under his leadership, while bearing out this regional requirement, was narrowly representative caste-wise, being overwhelmingly Brahmin. C's campaign workers therefore including O, were also Brahmins, although they were not necessarily Committee members subsequently. O, indeed, was not even a member of U.L.U., and therefore could not qualify officially as a voting member of the India Society. He was a friend of C's, being himself known as a "kingmaker", a man with contacts, and prominent in London Majlis, although on this occasion he was forced to work indirectly owing to his unofficial position.

Neither was A a member of U.L.U. or of the India Society. Being thus external to the active Bihari contenders, as well as being a Christian from Malabar, and known as something of an homme fatal, he was a ready victim for the rumours being surreptitiously spread abroad regarding B's girlfriend. It will be recalled that some of B's prestige rested on his ability to keep this clever and forthright young woman as his girlfriend; thus the rumours may be seen as a direct attack on a source of his personal prestige, as well as, possibly, to accomplish her own discredit. The purpose of F's intervention from the floor is less certain. He was not concerned in the Bihari v. Bihari struggle for leadership, and his interruption was regarded as an irritation by both parties. His attack was directed towards neither of the opposing groups, but at E, the English Chairman of the meeting, the Social Secretary of U.L.U., who was the embodiment of the Students Union authority at this meeting. F was a recognised troublemaker; and it would appear that his immediate purpose was achieved by the mere fact of protest, unsuccessful though it was. His ultimate aim is probably leadership; a challenge to the existing men of influence, B, C, and O. Before a challenge can be made he must gather round him a coterie of supporters, and it is clear that at the

meeting he had already gained a few, since it was these friends sitting round him who calmed him down after his outburst, and prevented the "encounter" which would have been the ultimate result of this "confrontation". His challenge to the Chair was well-timed; the mood of the meeting was already heated and somewhat disorganised, and tensed up for the process of voting. Though F's protest came to nothing, it gave him the opportunity to be noticed as a spokesman before a substantial number of Indian students, and to be seen as a man who was not afraid of the power of the authority structure. He may also have hoped that an intervention in the matter of voting procedure at this sensitive stage of the meeting might have swung a few militants behind him. Dr. Parkin, writing of anti-sorcery movements in East Africa, noted the need for prospective leaders to make themselves known before they can mobilise support to achieve their aims:

> "....radicals dissatisfied with the status quo must publicise their existence and hope to acquire recognition and authority. The anti-sorcery movement is a convenient cultural idiom providing such publicity without actually conferring permanent recognition." (1)

Success in the campaign is at this stage less important than the enforced public recognition of a radical activist.

Although the impetus to change the established Bihari-dominated leadership came from an outwardly forward-looking, anti-communalism group, the majority of the new Committee, as well as many of their supporters, were held together by a force as traditional as common regional origin and language; namely, caste. Five of the seven new Committee members came from the same college, so their proximity in work, as well as in informal socializing, reinforced and made more assured these caste ties.

R, a former protege of B, turned against him at a crucial time; he could see that an attack was to be mounted on B through V's unconstitutional position as Chairman of India Society, and by beginning to complain of B's alleged mishandling of Society funds, brought himself to the notice of the opposition, thus stabilizing his position on the Committee. It is worth

---

(1) David J. Parkin, 1968. p.437.

noting that he maintained his post as Treasurer and submitted his report at the mass meeting described. He alone, of the old B-dominated Committee, (always excepting K, who, as Secretary, was a prime opponent of B), took an active official part at this meeting. From the hostile reception accorded his report it is clear that his Vicar of Bray act did not impress the meeting as a whole, however much he was trusted by the opposing group.

Primary Divisive Alignments among Indian Students/Professionals Abroad.

Region of origin and common language are obviously of paramount importance, since they have emerged as the most frequently invoked grounds for association among the professionals in Britain. Even in the Parsee Association, ostensibly religion-based, most hail from neighbouring areas of Gujarat and Maharashtra in Western India. These two bases I would term primary. Within their limitations are to be found other potential action-set/faction alignments, which may be seen to operate, singly or plurally, in the associations so far discussed. It has been noted that caste associations in India, likewise, are generally limited in recruitment to one administrative or political unit (1).

Secondary Divisive Alignments within Primary Limitations.

Commonest of these appear to be: (2)

(1) Kinship.

(2) Caste.

(3) Age.

(4) Events in corresponding areas of India.

1) Kinship. Among professionals and students this is not a powerful means of enlisting support at times of dispute within the associations, since, as indicated in the preceding chapter, kinship networks are largely non-existent, or, at any rate, severely curtailed. Where they do exist, as in the case of the Maharashtra Mandal dispute, R v. E, they are effectively utilised, and can increase the likelihood of the development of a factional situation,

---

(1) Lloyd I. Rudolph and Susanne Hoeber Rudolph, 1967. p.34.

(2) This is not a listing in order of importance.

rather than one based on opposing action sets (1). Kinship ties have the strength of permanency, as opposed to friendship links which otherwise may be utilised; and which, though mainly stable, are not immutable. The factional situation which developed within Maharashtra Mandal gave rise to a splinter movement.

2) Caste. This is a stronger factor than kinship, though they are obviously bound together, since the vast majority of any one kin group are of one caste. As we have seen, friendship circle formation is influenced by caste membership, and it is the friendship circle which fulfils many of the functions of family for the student or professional during his life in Britain. It is the first group to which the individual turns to seek allies in a dispute situation. His caste-fellows within the association are likely to have friends with similar caste backgrounds who can be enlisted in Ego's support, and so caste influence spreads. The Maharashtra Mandal dispute shows that caste loyalties can be negatively invoked, as in S's speech pleading that prominence should not be given to Brahmins solely on caste grounds. As he was in the faction opposing E, the Brahmin candidate for the Presidency, he was emphasizing their traditionally ascriptive opposition, and indirectly awakening latent hostilities in the minds of his hearers. Caste as a unifying force in action-set alignment is prominent in Maharashtra Mandal, most particularly as a demonstration of anti-Brahminism. I have already mentioned the growth of a Brahmin-dominated Maharashtrian social club in South London, coincidental with their loss of power in Maharashtra Mandal; but since then the few Brahmins remaining in the Mandal, although not in executive positions, have found various subtle measures being taken to limit their influence even further. For instance, a committee for the purchase of a house to serve as a permanent home for the

---

(1) Faction and action-set are here used in P. H. Gulliver's sense: Factions being more permanent, action sets ephemeral. (P. H. Gulliver. 1966. p.7). It is interesting that in his study of action sets among the Ndendeuli Gulliver describes a non-unilineal kinship system, in which no two men will have quite the same relations to turn to, however closely related. It is, then, an ego-oriented system, in this respect similar to the Indian students and professionals independent situation in associations.

Mandal was formed, having a membership of six; it was decided that these must be:

a) Life members of Maharashtra Mandal;

b) Houseowners in the U.K.

While some of the Brahmins were life-members, not many were houseowners as well. Some are living in council houses, others in flats. Of the lower caste members, who hold influential positions in the Mandal now, many of Vaishya castes, several are houseowners who, in addition to following their own occupations, let out rooms. Such men are also in a position to pay a life subscription to the Mandal, and thus can take control of such a Committee. It is difficult to see what advantages qualification (b) would give a committee member, unless it is intended to denote permanent residence in U.K., and therefore a more stable committee membership. Some of the non-house-owning Brahmins have lived here as long as, if not longer than, the householder Vaishyas and Marathas, so this argument does not appear valid in practice. Even if the reason for this condition is an effort to ensure permanency and stability for this committee, some Brahmins saw it as a subtle method of excluding them. Certainly such conditions, open to misinterpretation as they are, increase caste consciousness in the Mandal, if not caste discrimination.

The relative strength of caste as a unifying force, compared to area of origin, can best be seen in an all-India association, such as the India Society at the University of London Union, described above. The elections here, and the opposing action-sets, were dominated by Biharis, possibly because they have no separate regional association in London where they can meet and where the ambitious can campaign for office. Within the Bihari group, based on the primary alignment of common region of origin, cleavages took place along traditional caste lines, and was mainly a Brahmin/Kshatriya split, with some members of Vaishya castes joining the Kshatriya party. It is interesting that the unifying force of caste was not mentioned at any meeting, or played up at all, unlike in the Maharashtra Mandal meeting, although even there it was negatively, though effectively, invoked. The action sets in the India Society's dispute are unlikely to have been marshalled consciously on caste grounds; they were drawn from the friendship circles of individuals concerned, and, as we have already seen, these are influenced by caste considerations,

stemming from "consciousness of kind". Thus, directly or indirectly, consciously or unconsciously, the force of caste was felt, and, by those who knew both groups and their backgrounds, was seen to be felt. Thus, even in an all-India association, caste ties may be seen to be operative secondarily, once primary regional links have been established.

3) Age. While there is no faction or action-set formation solely along age-set lines within the regional associations, there does seem to be a tendency for the younger members to press with greater agitation for reforms and changes. Nevertheless the leaders of such groups are often older men, or those of the "establishment" in the organisations, who see such reactions as a means to personal authority and official position, if judiciously exploited. Thus, in the Maharashtra Mandal dispute, R was supported by S and Z against E and his younger supporters; indeed, this might be viewed as a revolt of the older members against the predominantly young committee headed by E as President, which overthrew the entrenched establishment in 1961-62; age factors thus reinforcing those of caste in the opposing alignments. I have already indicated that a young student group was active in Kerala Samajam; quick to express disapproval, its members lost no opportunity of promoting the discomfiture of the established leadership (1). What is interesting is the way they chose to do it: they emerged as a group defending the cultural traditions of Kerala, in this case symbolized by the feast of Onam, against any influence from North India. Thus the younger age group can use traditional customs as a rallying point, just as older members of the establishment can work on and show sympathy towards youth's enthusiasm for reform when they see that, by acting as figureheads or by leading open support, they can win official positions within the associations and oust their rivals.

---

(1) Since the controversy I have described, Kerala Samajam was disbanded, but was re-started in 1968 by a nucleus of young Kerala students, who felt a need for somewhere they could meet and speak Malayalam, maintain their cultural traditions and consciousness, etc. As described already, they elected as their President a middle-aged lawyer. The name of the society has been changed to "Kerala Association", and now all business is conducted in Malayalam.

A clear instance of this may be seen in the activities of M in the Bengali Institute. He supported the younger set's demands that the Institute's meetings should be social rather than cultural, and, once Chairman, saw to it that these demands were met, though he himself personally expressed regret at the change of emphasis. M was able to establish himself as a "progressive", in spite of his age and long connection with the Institute; he quickly realised he could utilise the upsurge of feeling gradually becoming evident among younger members against the way the entrenched establishment was running the association, and thus at last unseat his rival, U, from his position as Chairman. It is interesting in this context that U referred to him in conversation as "this boy", a derogatory appellation stemming no doubt in part from his association with the younger set.

In all the associations, generational differences seem to be an easily-recognisable and exploitable line of cleavage. The President of the Parsee Association expressed it in so many words: "The young folk naturally think they can run everything better than we older members!" So far their policy of allowing what they consider to be the "more responsible" younger elements a look-in on the Committee, though not a controlling interest, has proved adequate to maintain peaceful co-operation, The aim, being not purely social, or a form of self-help in an alien environment, but also to further the interests of <u>established</u> Parsees in Britain, many of them in business, may help to exclude the younger, less settled members from taking over control.

4) <u>Events in corresponding areas of India</u>.

As shown above, links with India are maintained by the associations in several ways, not least by contacts of individual members, who go home on visits, bringing back views and reports on contemporary developments; and the arrival of new members, fresh from, and closer to, the Indian scene than those settled in the U.K. for several years. Events at home of the nature of the Poona flood disaster, or prevailing opinions thereon such issues as the Hindi question may be used as rallying points for alignments in the power struggles of the regional associations.

The Kerala Samajam dispute described above exemplifies this: at the time, there was extreme unrest in South India over the language question; a revolt against the introduction of Hindi as the national language, which broadened

into a distaste for all things Northern. That this mood was prevalent became clear from the coolness which greeted Hindi songs during the entertainment preceding the AGM, described above. Later, in the AGM itself, the postponement of the traditional South Indian festival of Onam on account of the war in the North, which, younger members claimed, was no concern of theirs, being South Indians, provided an outlet for hostility which was exacerbated by the anti-establishment group in order to undermine trust in the current Committee. The strongly anti-Brahmin force in Maharashtra Mandal may again be seen as a reflection of popular opinion in Maharashtra, where there was not one Brahmin minister in regional government, where popular support is essential, in spite of their eminence in other fields (1). Maharashtra, in fact, is one of the states in India where the nationalist movement was largely non-Brahmin, thus strengthening their administrative and governmental position. (2)

Anti-Brahminism in Maharashtra is reinforced by a historical basis (3); although its derivation is not so logically worked out in the minds of all, the resulting widespread prejudice and resentment is still strong, being maintained by subsequent events, the most recent being the murder of Gandhi by a Maharashtrian Brahmin, which resulted in the anti-Brahmin riots of 1948, an outburst well within living memory, and a personal experience to some present members of the Mandal. Such events serve to harden the division between Brahmin and non-Brahmin in Maharashtra, providing a ready rationalisation for the resentment felt all over India by lower castes of the jealously preserved ritual and social advantages enjoyed by Brahmins.

It will be recalled that the Punjabi Association's leadership, mainly Hindus, was ousted after an influx of young Sikhs; and this at a time when there was constant and mounting agitation among Sikhs in the Punjab for their own State, subsequently obtained. While the winning of a Punjabi-speaking State in India, and the successful take-over of a regional association in

---

(1) Myron Weiner. 1965. p.210.
(2) At least one head of department post in local government in Poona remains vacant because there is not a sufficiently-qualified non-Brahmin to take over. The work meanwhile is being done by the two Brahmin deputies, neither of whom can hope for promotion because of their caste.
(3) Namely, the yielding of the Peshwas to the British, and the consequent loss of the kingdom.

London can never be comparable in magnitude, the latter does seem to indicate a manifestation of ambition and unrest among Sikhs in London, paralleling similar assertion in the Punjab. Sikh organisations in London are unusual in that the issues of Indian politics are very much alive and influential in internal matters.

I have designated these primary and secondary bases for division as alignments, rather than forces, since it does not appear that they activate the formation of action sets/factions, but rather that they represent pre-existing lines of cleavage which may remain dormant until issues arise which engender a conflict situation. The associations are not in a constant state of schism; for years they may exist without internal divisions or disputes. Conflict may arise over some specific instance of maladministration, such as inefficient handling of the accounts, or, indeed, suspected, if not proved, "fiddling" of them; or as a result of contemperaneous membership of two or more ambitious characters who are unable to establish a satisfactory modus vivendi. In Maharashtra Mandal, for instance, A and J, the alternating Presidents, obviously had done just this; whereas E and R, equally clearly, failed to do so, possibly because of the undeniable and unalterable bases of alignment they had activated in their support: kin and caste.

For the ambitious to compete so seriously, there must be something worthwhile in the goal. The presidency of one of the regional associations involves a good deal of social activity, some of which may be personally expensive; for instance, when N was president of Maharashtra Mandal, she would donate tea and sweetmeats as refreshment at social gatherings. The holding of any office in the associations makes demands upon the individual's time. What are the advantages to be gained?

These are of two kinds: both the hard-to-define element of prestige, and certain material benefits. I have already pointed out that links with the area of origin in India are maintained, not only by the private periodical visits of members, or charitable help in any disaster or emergency, but also by entertaining eminent men on their visits to Britain. The regional associations are certainly known and recognised at home, and, likewise, so are their officers. Prestige may accrue then to a President not only in his community in U.K., but also in India. Since it is his function to represent his

association to important visitors, he is in a position to make contacts which may be useful to him or his family. All office-holders, through their friendship circles (obviously wide, or they would not have been elected in the first place), have contacts who can arrange cheap air passages to India, or payment of rupees from family to family at home in return for sterling exchanged here, or the carrying of gifts to relations in India. Through holding an official position, contacts widen still further, and opportunities for the exchange of favours grow with them. These may also include free meals or accommodation in time of need. Thus official position, apart from satisfying the ambitious who might find such advancement harder to achieve in the total society, by such increased contacts, influence, and prestige can make certain practical advantages more readily available than they are to ordinary members, although for them, too, the extension of social contacts arising from association membership has certain similar practical uses. For ordinary members, however, the chief function of the regional association is a social one. Many, especially single men, or those whose wives are not in Britain with them, only turn up when a free meal, cooked in traditional style, is offered. Entertainment programmes of Indian music and dance, or plays in the regional language, are also appreciated, and at these the women and children are prominent. They provide a means of acculturation for the young children, who are constantly exposed, through school and pre-school play-groups, to Western values and customs. The women, whose command of English is generally not so efficient as the men's, find relaxation in the exclusive use of their regional language, and in informal gossip and exchange of home news.

The meetings of the regional associations themselves are not frequent or influential enough to hinder accommodation to British society; but their by-products, in the form of increased regional social contacts, may do so. Informal leisure-time meetings may be largely restricted to co-regionalists met through the regional association, and thus a student or professional may be prevented, albeit unconsciously, from experiencing fully his opportunities for understanding an alien cultural environment. To do this more is needed than merely contact at work: some leisure activities should be common, also. Provided this is so, membership of regional associations has a positive accommodative function by easing the introduction of the newcomer to an alien

social environment, and by keeping alive the traditional culture for the longer-settled and their children, so that they do not become rootless unanchored social flotsam. In addition, they provide a means to prestige for the ambitious within the regional group, as well as, possibly, in India, should they return or go on a visit. Such prestige can be won without fighting for it on the terms of the host society, where the Indian professional starts out with the built-in disadvantages of being a) coloured; and b) visually identifiable as foreign. In a country where achieved status is increasingly important, the ascribed statuses of a) and b) above nevertheless affect the Indian professional in spite of his achievement when in a competitive situation within the host society. Within the regional association the cut-and-thrust of competitive campaigns can be carried on on equal terms for those whose ambitions lie in this sphere. For the successful, certain practical and material advantages, as outlined above, can follow.

The regional associations, while fulfilling certain of the needs and aspirations of students and professionals in the U.K., do not serve as a unifying factor for Indians in Britain as a whole. Membership is limited class-wise, since no Indian migrant workers are members (except possibly in the Punjabi Association since the take-over), and, in those societies, such as Maharashtra Mandal, where caste is strongly evident in the organisation, membership is, in practice at least, limited to twice-born castes. The regional associations rarely act in conjunction; generally their concern is with their own members, and their own area of India, to the exclusion of all others. There appears to be no likelihood of their developing into a representative "voice" of the professional group as a whole, yet their influence in members' informal daily life is stronger than all-India groupings such as the Hindu Centre, the Indian Social Club, etc. Even at 6,000 miles' distance from India, they epitomise the sub-continent's separatist tendencies; tendencies which are even apparent in an all-India association such as India Society, as we have seen. It would appear that, where such separatist tendencies pre-exist in the home environment, they are likely to be primary forces around which the clustering of culturally-akin expatriates will occur. As long as the needs and purposes examined above are fulfilled in the intimate atmosphere of these associations, it is improbable that their influence will weaken or their place be usurped by all-India organisations.

CHAPTER VI. - CONCLUSION

The material collected, and presented here, was gathered over a period of 5-6 years; the statistical figures used refer to the situation at the time of the research. While relating my findings to the period 1961-1967, the "ethnographic present" has been used throughout. Occasionally post-1967 material has been added in footnotes when it seems likely to elucidate the point at issue.

This study has focussed chiefly on the extent to which the Indian student in U.K. maintains and fosters his relationships with his co-regionalists here. This is a matter of individual choice, and it is significant that so many choose to cultivate such relationships to fulfil certain needs which they cannot see supplied by social contact with the host society. That there are exceptions to this is certainly true; this is clear from the case studies given, but the numbers are small compared to the former group.

By comparison with studies of other migrant groups, it is shown that "consciousness of kind", as described by Lowie, as well as the advantages of mutual aid and support, are common reasons for the clustering of migrants according to national origin. In the case of Indian students this is taken a stage further in that national origin is not as powerful a unifying impetus as regional origin, and the enforcement of this relatively small scale impetus is to be found in common language and an understanding of regional variations of the caste-system.

My conclusion that what is almost a caste subconsciousness is constantly active in intra-regional social relationships is supported to varying degrees by the studies of overseas Indians which have been quoted. Caste discrimination is non-existent, but consciousness of caste is more enduring. Even in private relationships an individual must be 'placed' in the hierarchy; at this level, it is almost subconsciously done. When it was pointed out to a progressive, Westernized informant that his closest and most intimate friends were of the same <u>varna</u> as he was himself, he was genuinely astonished. "I didn't choose them deliberately, you know - and yet you're absolutely right, I feel more 'at home' with them than with others!" This illustrates what is meant by a <u>sub</u>consciousness of caste; a man does not consciously choose

friends according to caste, yet he finds he does so, and not really unconsciously, since he is aware of their caste from the first. There is a subconscious favourable predisposition, a feeling of trust, of "knowing-where-we-stand", of reciprocity of expectations among those of the same caste. In London, this broadens out to embrace those of the same varna - a direct result of restricted numbers, so that inter-caste distinctions within the varna are not a viable divisive factor. It has been shown, in the account of the Maharashtra Mandal elections, how caste consciousness can be activated and made a vehicle for action set formation. It lies just below the surface in inter-caste activities, and, ever-present in the sub-conscious, can easily be brought into consciousness as a traditional line of cleavage. Few students will admit to paying any attention to a man's caste; the overwhelming majority are quick in assurance that caste has been outlawed in India, and the one who admits to caste motivations where his social relationships are concerned, even when these are pointed out to him, is rare indeed. Only the practice of participant observation, as a supplement to questionnaires and interviews, can uncover underlying, sometimes deliberately buried, motivations such as this.

The sparsity of kinship links among the student's immediate circle of social contacts here in U.K. has already been noted (1). To a considerable extent such support, so present in India, is supplied by the co-regionalist friendship circle, the most intimate members of which, as I have indicated above, will be of the same varna, if not the same caste. That the Indian student tends to withdraw into his co-regionalist group is significant, considering the opportunities constantly before him to move in a wider, more cosmopolitan circle. He does, indeed, play his part in student clubs and societies, but while the extent of such contacts may be considerable, their depth is likely to be unremarkable, as we have seen when considering important functions of friendship in this context: financial aid when necessary, help in finding accommodation, advice, support in conflict situations, or simple companionship. In his intimate friends the student is seeking a form of

---

(1) A recent study by M. S. Nawathé has also noted this fact with reference to middle-class Maharashtrians in London.

continuity, in an alien environment, of his native cultural milieu; with them he can talk about individuals and situations at home without tiring explanations. Taking the Indian social situation into account, it is clear that those with whom he can establish such a relationship are most likely to be those from the same area of origin, speaking the same language, and from the same, or similar, caste group. Thus the cosmopolitan overseas University can make a student more introspective rather than outward-looking, unless he makes an effort towards the latter, as, in fact, some of those students studied clearly did.

The effort stems not wholly from the student's side. I have attempted to indicate briefly, as an example of the choice of social contacts available, the organised activities formulated by such organisations as the British Council, the Student Christian Movement, the Students' Union, etc. It is suspected that such activities chiefly attract those least in need of them; those already versed in Western ways, the good mixers, the sort who make friendly contacts readily, no matter in what company they find themselves. Those who find Western habits strange, the customs alarmingly alien, or those who fear embarrassment should they make mistakes, will retreat into the reassuring shelter of a co-regionalist group, where they can relax and be themselves, criticise the host society if they feel so inclined, and be understood through the medium of their native tongue. It has been noted that almost all the students cultivate co-regionalist friends, but membership of formal regional associations is not so all-pervasive. Women are enthusiastic members: if a man has his wife in U.K. with him, they are likely to attend the social evenings organised by their association regularly. The women will work together to produce traditional food for the gatherings, especially on major feasts. The organisations have a more wide-spread effect than their paid-up membership implies: for an outstanding programme or festival they attract numbers of young, single men, or married men on their own in U.K. These know that on such occasions membership rules will not be strictly enforced; all are welcome as guests of the association. Some may be asked if they would consider joining, but the decision can always be deferred to a later date which may never arrive. The co-regionalist associations reflect on a large scale the Indian family tradition of welcome and hospitality, a demonstration

made even more effective because of the seemingly cold, formal entertaining practised by the host society. This gives a clue as to why the regional association's entertainments are so much more readily patronised than those planned by well-intentioned Western organisations: the latter are felt to be arranged by "do-gooders", who will gain more themselves through self-satisfaction than will the students. Everything has to be arranged well in advance - appointments made, times kept; the visitor should not "outstay his welcome." The comparative informality of even the organised entertainments of the regional associations, with their casual times of commencement and ending, provides welcome relaxation. It must also be borne in mind that the ultimate authority for arranging social occasions in such organisations as the British Council, the S.C.M., etc., rests with members of the host society; it is they who are instrumental in putting on entertainments, even on occasions when these are carried out by the students themselves. The regional associations are run entirely by Indians themselves, thus providing opportunities for those with organisational or managing talents to express themselves. Self-made men (and women), nevertheless lacking in education, can win prestige by a parade of their monetary advantages; as, for instance, when N provided refreshments free for Maharashtra Mandal - this was publicised pointedly. In Ch. V I have stressed the chances for political manoeuvring that these associations offer for those whose ambitions lie in that direction; but that they also satisfy the management and organisational abilities of other members cannot be ignored. Thus, for some they are a means to prestigeful position in the regional grouping; for some an outlet for their abilities, so that they can be of service to their co-regionalists; for others, they provide a platform for their skills as singers, dancers, actors or musicians; and for still more, the opportunity to speak in their native language on matters of general interest, to gossip, to be entertained, and to experience to some degree the warmth of the cultural background in which they were reared.

There has been much concern expressed over the loneliness that overseas students experience on arrival; Sheila Webster mentions it repeatedly, with a specific reference to the complaint of a Pakistani student. (1) It would seem that Indian students suffer least in this respect; those who do not

---

(1) Sheila Webster, 1954? p.176.

already have co-regionalist friends in U.K. seem to acquire them speedily, and a great deal of out-of-College time, and, sometimes, even in-College time, is spent with this circle: an "effective network" of friends. As far as Indian students are concerned, activities organised by British organisations generally remain on the periphery of social experience; interesting and useful for the period of their duration, but ephemeral in relevance and influence.

The "compartmentalisation" of the different spheres of the Indian student's social activity is probably common in the lives of town-dwellers everywhere. As far as I am aware, the extent to which it is true of University students in U.K., of whatever nationality, has not been tested. It may be that their spheres of social interaction are more compartmentalised than those of permanent residents of an urban area, and therefore that Indian students are following in their own way the general trend of an élite group concentrated in one place for a specific purpose at a given time: but comparative research is necessary to determine this.

New immigration laws have had the result of lessening (and, indeed, may still further curtail), the inflow of Indian students to U.K. Certain "Priority professionals", such as doctors, are likely to continue as welcome visitors, and it seems improbable that regional associations will suffer any major impoverishment in numbers in the near future. What will prove interesting is whether children of those Indian professionals whose working lives have been spent in U.K. will continue as members of such organisations; and, if they do, whether the aims and purposes will change in emphasis, as has occurred in the case of Polish associations in the U.S.A. (1)

Co-regionalism and language appear unlikely to diminish their unifying effect on present Indian students and professionals in U.K. Such primary ascribed ties retain their strength, and are even reinforced by the lack of a wide-reaching kinship network in the U.K., since the co-regionalist friendship circle can fulfil many of its functions, as we have seen. What would be encouraging to see is a gradual working together of the formal regional associations which exist, rather than the tendency to fission which seems to be increasing within the regionalist group. This is not to suggest that

---

(1) H. Z. Lopata, 1964. p.206 ff.

regional associations should lose their identity in one huge all-India organisation - this would be too all-embracing to inspire individual loyalty - but that they should co-operate on certain occasions, Independence Day, for example, in an effort to present the professional Indians in U.K. to the host society as an influential entity. They have the potential of becoming a valuable liaison body between the two cultures: an increasing consciousness of this role and its value will ensure the regional associations' survival more readily than a separatist and enclosed, inward-looking attitude which can only limit their effectiveness, and that of their members.

APPENDIX I

Distribution of Indian and Pakistani students in British Universities 1947-64.

INDIANS

Year	Total	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L	M	N	O
1947-48	900	39	74	444	86	17	23	44	29	12	13	56	26	10	-	-
1948-49	864	47	73	408	65	16	25	32	34	-	-	50	60	-	14	-
1949-50	697	35	59	386	65	14	25	26	-	-	-	17	47	-	-	-
1950-51	775	35	59	352	48	-	35	30	39	12	-	57	64	-	-	-
1951-52	831	44	69	431	44	14	25	30	25	16	-	44	74	-	10	-
1952-53	974	-	84	471	59	-	-	41	-	-	-	84	51	-	-	-
1953-54	1116	-	78	547	57	-	-	55	-	-	-	89	63	-	-	-
1954-55	1229	-	64	547	65	-	-	-	-	-	-	108	91	-	-	-
1955-56	1321	-	-	596	85	-	-	-	-	-	-	83	89	-	-	60
1956-57	1532	-	86	723	91	-	-	79	-	-	-	82	106	-	-	73
1957-58	1511	77	90	715	89	-	-	-	-	-	-	71	101	-	-	96
1958-59	1457	62	85	707	81	-	-	69	-	-	-	58	81	-	-	114
1959-60	1476	60	78	690	82	-	-	83	-	-	-	62	92	-	-	112
1960-61	1513	57	65	753	104	-	-	93	-	-	-	47	69	-	-	93
1961-62	1660	63	68	797	127	-	-	125	-	61	-	-	-	-	-	108
1962-63	1746	66	74	839	118	51	-	147	-	-	-	50	-	-	-	113
1963-64	1543	-	-	672	104	-	-	142	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	102

KEY:
A - Oxford; B - Cambridge; C- London; D - Manchester; E - Birmingham; F - Durham; G - Leeds; H - Liverpool; I - Sheffield; J - Wales; K - Edinburgh; L - Glasgow; M - Dublin; N - Bristol; O - Royal Technical College, Glasgow (became Royal College of Science and Technology in 1956-57).

All figures are taken from the Commonwealth Universities Yearbooks for the years concerned.
Universities having a very small number of Indian students, or those who did not reply to the questionnaire, are not included.

PAKISTANIS

Year	Total	A	B	C	D	E	F	G
1947-48	92	62	-	-	-	-	-	-
1948-49	110	64	-	-	-	-	-	-
1949-50	96	64	-	-	-	-	-	-
1950-51	153	86	16	12	-	-	-	-
1951-52	197	120	19	-	11	-	-	-
1952-53	247	120	27	16	13	15	-	-
1953-54	254	129	27	15	17	20	-	-
1954-55	319	152	30	25	-	-	-	-
1955-56	380	191	33	24	-	26	-	-
1956-57	459	223	42	24	30	32	-	-
1957-58	486	240	41	23	30	31	-	-
1958-59	474	253	39	22	29	23	16	-
1959-60	435	220	39	16	36	19	15	-
1960-61	439	209	30	17	24	33	23	24
1961-62	526	254	29	23	24	58	32	-
1962-63	619	291	32	-	33	60	30	-
1963-64	749	340	35	-	35	67	37	-

KEY:
A - London; B - Cambridge; C - Edinburgh; D - Oxford; E - Manchester; F - Birmingham; G - Leeds.

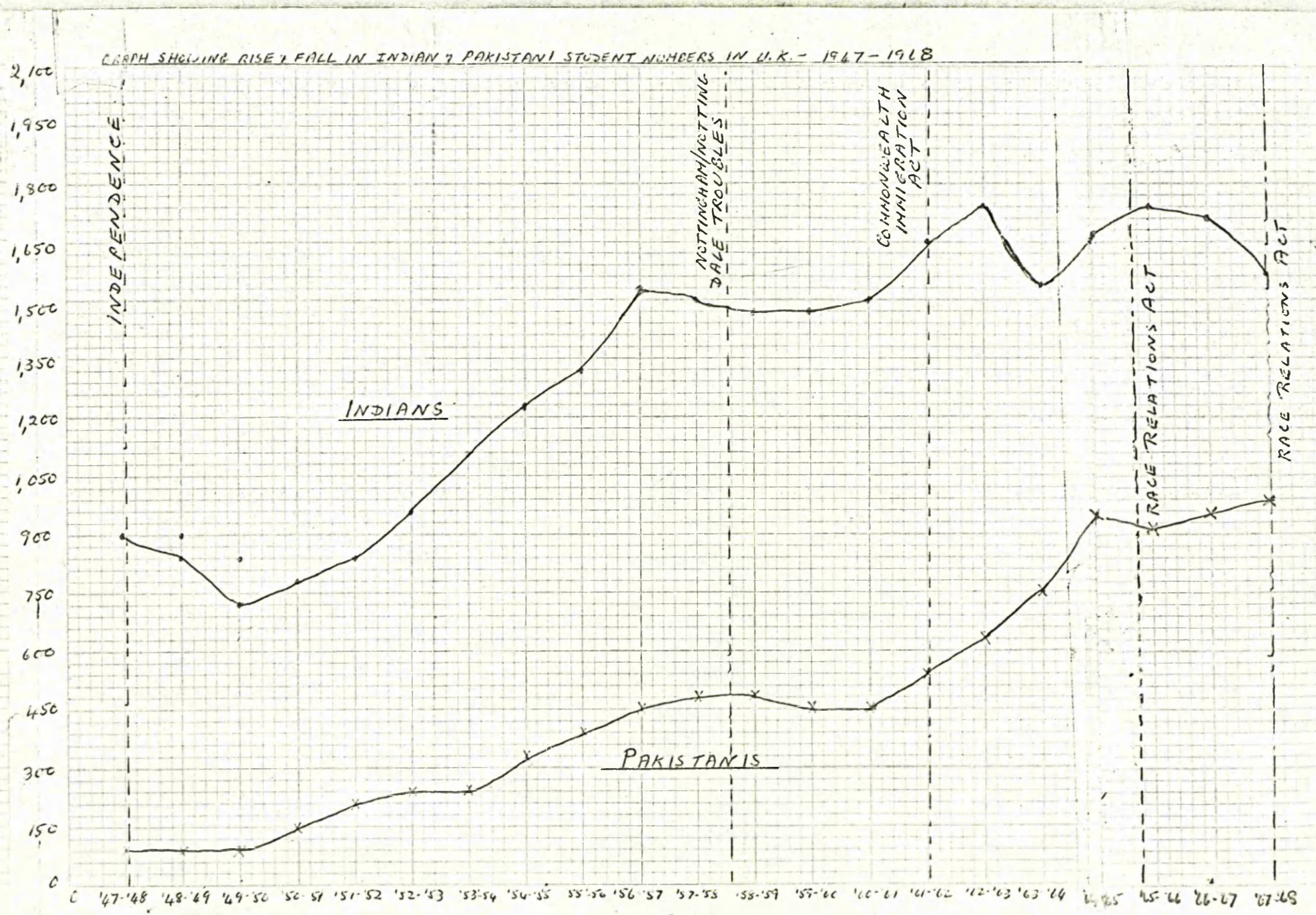
All figures are taken from the Commonwealth Universities Yearbooks for the years concerned. Universities having a very small number of Pakistani students, or those who did not reply to the questionnaire, are not included.

APPENDIX II

Graphs

a) Rise and fall in Indian and Pakistani student numbers in U.K., 1947-68.

b) Rise and fall in Indian and Pakistani student numbers at London University, 1947-68.


GRAPH SHOWING RISE & FALL IN INDIAN & PAKISTANI STUDENT NUMBERS IN U.K. - 1947-1968
2,100
1,950
1,800
1,650
1,500
1,350
1,200
1,050
900
750
600
450
300
150
0
INDEPENDENCE
NOTTINGHAM/NOTTING DALE TROUBLES
COMMONWEALTH IMMIGRATION ACT
RACE RELATIONS ACT
RACE RELATIONS ACT
INDIANS
PAKISTANIS
'47-'48
'48-'49
'49-'50
'50-'51
'51-'52
'52-'53
'53-'54
'54-'55
'55-'56
'56-'57
'57-'58
'58-'59
'59-'60
'60-'61
'61-'62
'62-'63
'63-'64
'64-'65
'65-'66
'66-'67
'67-'68

GRAPH SHOWING RISE & FALL IN INDIAN & PAKISTANI STUDENT NUMBERS AT LONDON UNIVERSITY - 1947-68.

APPENDIX III

a) Weekly analysis of accommodation advertisements in London Weekly Advertiser, W/E June 13th 1961 - W/E Sept. 12th 1961, referring especially to racial preferences.

b) Weekly analysis of accommodation advertisements in Dalton's Weekly, June 3rd 1961 - Aug. 5th 1961, referring especially to racial preferences.

(Accommodation specifically favouring coloured tenants is termed "positive"; advertisements rejecting them are listed as "negative".)

a) LONDON WEEKLY ADVERTISER.

Unfurn: flats, rms: hses:	Furn: rms:	Furn: fl:	Board & Residence
W/E June 13th '61			
TOTAL: 131	TOTAL: 179	TOTAL: 179	TOTAL: 10
Negatives:	Negatives:	Negatives:	Negatives:
1 Streatham	"Bedsitts": Sw: Cott:	1 Wandsworth	S.W.9. "Eur"
"Flats" N4, N5, W.11.	("Eng: or Continental")	1 Brixton "Eur"	Tooting B'way "Eur"
1 Hendon Lane	1 Ealing. "Eng."	1 Str: Hill "Eng"	
	1 Finchley Rd. "Eur"	1 Bayswater "Eur"	
Positives:	1 Chiswick: "Eur"	1 Str: Cmn. "Eng"	
1 S.W.6.	1 Parson's Grn. "Eur":	1 N.5	
1 Ladbroke Grove	1 Stanmore	1 Maida Vale	
	1 Stamford Hill	1 Clapham	
	1 Highgate: "Eur"	1 Chiswick	
	2 Islington	"No Col:, Irish"	
	S.E. 2 Macaulay: "Eur"		
	"Rms" Lancaster G	Positives:	
	"Rms" Nott: H. G.	1 Golders Grn.	
	"Rms" Wim: Pk: Rd:		
	2 Crouch Hill		
	1 Mountview		
	1 "		
	"Rms" W. Hampstead		
	2 Sw: Cott:		
	1 Hampstead "Eng"		
	1 W. Finchley		
	1 Finchley		
	2 Clapham		
	1 Stanmore		
	1 Sw: Cott:		
	1 S.W.18 "Eur"		
	1 Highgate "Eur"		
	2 Sw: Cott: "Eng.,Eur."		
	1 Golders Grn. "Brit"		
	1 N.16.		
	1 Cricklewood "Eur"		

LONDON WEEKLY ADVERTISER.

Unfurn: flats, rms: hses:	Furn: rms:	Furn: fl:	Board & Residence

W/E June 13th '61 (con)

Positives:
2 Bayswater: "£1 p.w. inc. light. Suit Col: musician." (!!!)
"Rms" Camberwell.
2 S. Ken:

W/E June 20th. '61.

TOTAL: 144

Negatives:
"Flats:" E5, N.16.
"Flats:" W11, N4, N5, N.16.
"Flats:" Stamford Hl:
1 Islington

Positives:
1 Oval: "no discrim:"

TOTAL: 223

Negatives:
1 Macaulay
1 N.4.
1 Chiswick "Eur"
1 Mountview
"Rms:" Lancaster G.
1 Brondesbury Pk.
1 Bayswater
1 Parsons Grn:
"Bedsitts": Fitzroy
1 N.4.
1 N.W.1.
"Rms:" Highbury
1 Hampstead
1 Stamford Hill
"Rms:" Highg: "Eur"
"Rms:" Oval
1 S.W.9. "Eur"
"Rms:" Wim: Pk. Rd.
"Rms:" Nott: Hill G.
1 Fulham Rd.
1 S.W.2.
1 Clapham Sth.
2 N.16 (also "No Jews")

TOTAL: 211

(Agencies: 157)
Negatives:
1 N.8. "Eur"
1 N. Cross "Eur"
1 Brixton "Eur"
1 Str: Cmn: "Eng."
1 N.5.
1 N. Ken.
1 Kensal Rise
"Rms": Wim: Pk. Rd.
1 Clapham Sth:

Positives:
1 Enterprise "Pak/Ind:"
1 N.W.10."Ind: welc"
1 Archway (col: pref:)

TOTAL: 8

Negatives: 0
Positives: 0

Unfurn: flats, rms: hses:	Furn: rms:	Furn: fl:	Board & Residence

W/E June 20th. '61. (con)

1 W. Hampstead
1 Highgate "Eur"
1 Finchley Rd: "Eur"
1 N.W.2
"Rms:" Finsbury Pk.
1 S.W.18
1 Shepherd's Bush
1 Islington

Positives:
1 Earlsfield "Eur"
& "Asian Ind:"
1 Oval "no discr:"
"Rms" Camberwell
"educ: col: people"
"Rms:" Paddington
"Any nat:"

W/E June 27th '61.

TOTAL: 58
(36 Agency)

Negatives:
"Flats" E5, N.16
1 Stamford Hill

Positives:
1 Bushey

TOTAL: 189
(77 Agency)

Negatives:
"Bdsts:" Fins: Pk:
" " " H'gate "Eur"
"Rms" Wim. Pk: Rd:
" " " Nott: Hl: Gate
" " " Oval
" " " Queen's Pk:
1 Gold: Gr: "Brit:"
1 S.W. 18 "Eur"
1 W. Hampstead
1 Finsbury Rd:
1 Claph: Sth: "Eur"
1 W. Hamp: "Eng"

TOTAL: 213
(168 Agency)

Negatives:
1 Dalston
1 Baron's Court
1 Toot: Bec "Eur"
1 Islington
1 Brixton "Eur"
"Rms" Wim. Pk.Rd:
1 Claph: Sth:
1 W.14 "Eur"
1 N.5.
1 Fins: Pk:
1 Streatham "Eur"
1 Archway

TOTAL: 16

Negatives:
Bdsts: Tooting B'way
"Eur"

Positives:
"Rms" E. Croydon.

Unfurn: flats, rms: hses:	Furn: rms:	Furn: fl:	Board & Residence

W/E June 27th '61 (con)

1 N.W.5. "Eur"
1 Hampstead
1 Highgate "Eng"
1 Willesden
1 Brixton Hl: "Eur"
1 Highgate Hl: "Eur"
1 Shepherd's Bush
1 W. Hampstead
1 Macaulay "Eur"
"Rms" Lancaster Gate

Positives:
1 Hendon "Col: welc"
1 Camberwell "Educ: col:"
1 Enterprise - N.14 "Pak/Ind"
"Rms" Padd: "Eur/Asian only."

Positives:
1 Willesden "Col: welc:"
Mayfair, Kens:, K'bridge, Chelsea: (12 gns. wk:)
1 Mayfair "o'seas pref" (20 gns. wk:)
1 S. Woodford: "Col: girl not obj. to"
1 Clapton "Any nat:"
1 Hampstead "Any respectable nat:" !!!
1 Kilburn "Any nat:"

W/E July 4th. '61

TOTAL: 56 (33 Agency)

Negatives:
"Flats" Stamf'd Hl.
1 Tufnell Pk.
1 W. Hampstead
"Rms" N4, W.11, N.19
"Flats" E.5, N.16
1 Stamford Hl.
1 Uxbridge
1 Finsbury Pk.

Positives: 0

TOTAL: 204 (82 Agency)

Negatives:
1 Stanmore
1 Highgate
1 Van Dyke
1 Mountview
1 W. H'stead "Eng"
1 Clapham S. "Eur"
1 SW18. "Eur"
"Rms" Nott Hill Gate
" " " SW9
1 Clapham S. "Eur"

TOTAL: 204 (160 Agency)

Negatives:
1 Brixt'n Hl. "Eur"
1 Golders Green
1 Brixton
1 Toot'g Bec. "Eur"
1 H'stead "Eur"
1 Highgate "Eur"
1 Maida Vale "respec: Eur"
1 Finsbury Pk.
2 N.W.2.

TOTAL: 14

Negatives:
"Bdsitts" Tooting B'way "Eur"

Positives:
"Rms" E. Croydon.

Unfurn: flats, rms: hses:	Furn: rms:	Furn: fl:	Board & Residence

W/E July 4th '61. (con)

1 Highbury
1 Maida Vale "pref:Brit"
1 S.W.6
1 New X
"Rms" Swiss Cott:
1 S.W.18
1 Brixton "Eur"
1 NW5 "Eur"
1 SE.18 "Brit/Irish"
1 NW2 "Eur"
1 Highgate "Eng"
1 Shepherd's Bush
1 Willesden "Eng"
1 Stanmore
1 W. Hampstead
1 Macaulay "Eur"
"Rms" Lancaster G.

Positives:
"Rms" Camberwell "educ: col:"
1 Stamford Brk "Eur or Ind:"
1 Earl's Court
1 Nott: Hill Gate.

1 Kensington
1 Baron's Court
1 Islington
"Flats" Wim Pk. Rd.
1 Clapham N.
1 Streatham "Eur"
1 Willesden Grn.

Positives:
3 Chelsea "overseas visitors"
1 Nott. Hill Gate
1 Chiswick
1 Swiss Cott:
"Flats" Mayfair, Chelsea, K'bridge, K'sington "overseas visitors" (min: 12 gns. weekly)
1 Mayfair "overseas visitors pref" (20 gns. weekly)

W/E July 18. '61.

TOTAL: 68 (43 Agency)
Negatives:
1 Brixton
"Flats": N4, N5, N19.
1 Forest Gate

TOTAL: 198 (70 Agency)
Negatives:
1 Earlsfield
1 N.10
"Rms" Oval

TOTAL: 211 (190 Agency)
Negatives:
1 Tooting Bec "Eur"
1 Golders Grn.
1 Tooting Bec "Eur"

TOTAL: 15
Negatives: 0
Positives:
"Rms" E. Croydon

Unfurn: flats, rms: hses: | Furn: rms: | Furn: fl: | Board & Residence

W/E July 18 '61. (con)

1 Tufnell Pk.
1 Camberwell "Eur"

Positives:
1 Kilburn "Col: fam: welc:"
1 Islington "West Ind:"

"Rms" Nott. H. G.
1 N.16
"Rms" Sw: Cott: "White only"
1 Islington
1 N4
1 SW 2
1 Shepherd's Bush
"Rms" Finsbury Pk.
" " " Sw: Cott: "Eng or Cont:"
1 NW5 "Eur"
1 Macaulay "Eur"
"Rms" Devonshire Terr:
1 Gladstone
1 W. Hampstead
1 NW1
"Flatlets" Beck'hm.
1 Gulliver
1 Balham "Eur"
1 Golders Grn.
1 Sw: Cott: "Eur"
1 NW2
1 N4
1 Shepherd's Bush
1 Oval
1 Muswell Hill

Positives:
"Rms" Bayswater "Any Nat:"
1 Kentish Tn. "Ind: stud:"

"Flats" W8 "Eur/ Austral:"
1 Balham "Eur"
1 Mountview "Eng"
1 N. Lond:
1 New X "Eur"
1 Bayswater "Eur"
1 Notting Hill
1 Shepherd's Bush
1 Streatham Hl. "Eng"

Positives:
"Flats" Holland Rd. "Any Nat"
1 Clapham Cmn: "Any Nat"

LONDON WEEKLY ADVERTISER.

Unfurn: flats, rms: hses:	Furn: rms:	Furn: fl:	Board & Residence

W/E July 25 '61.

TOTAL: 63
(45 Agency)

Negatives:
"Flats" Stamford Hill
" " " SW2
" " " N19, N4.
" " " E5, N16.
1 N.1 "Eng"
1 Finsbury Pk.

Positives: 0

TOTAL: 176
(54 Agency)

Negatives:
"Rms" Devonshire Terr:
1 Sw: Cott: "Eur"
1 Shepherd's Bush
1 Macaulay "Eur"
1 Turnham Grn.
1 Kensington
1 Stanmore
1 Finsbury Pk.
1 Newington Grn."Eng"
1 N.8
"Rms" Sw: Cott: "Eur"
1 Clapham Cmn
1 W.14
1 Herne Hill "Eur"
2 Fitzroy
1 Hornsey
1 W. Hampstead "Eur"
1 Gladstone
"Rms" Nott.Hill Gate
1 Cricklewood
"Rms" Oval
1 Wim: Pk:
"Rms" Any area "Eur"
1 Islington
1 N8
1 Finsbury Pk.

Positives:
"Rms" Kentish Tn:
"Ind: studs"
"Rms" NW11 "foreign visitors"
1 Bayswater "col welc:"

TOTAL: 215
(169 Agency)

Negatives:
1 Muswell Hill
1 Highbury
1 Willesden "Eng bus: lady"
1 Stroud Grn "Eng"
2 Willesden Grn.
1 Streatham Cmn."Eng"
1 N. Lond:
1 Kilburn
1 Brixton Hl "Eur"
1 Shepherd's Bush
1 Maida Vale
1 Finsbury Pk.
1 Kennington Pk.

Positives:
1 Clapham Cmn "Any Nat"
1 Bayswater "Any Nat"
1 Finsbury Pk. "Col welc:"

TOTAL: 14

Negatives:
"Rms" Herne Hill

Positives:
"Rms" E. Croydon

LONDON WEEKLY ADVERTISER.

Unfurn: flats, rms: hses:	Furn: rms:	Furn: fl:	Board & Residence
W/E Aug: 1st. '61			
TOTAL: 59 (35 Agency)	TOTAL: 160 (41 Agency)	TOTAL: 193 (145 Agency)	TOTAL: 11
Negatives: 1 Walthamstow "Flats" N16, N4, N19. 1 Tufnell Pk. 1 Hackney	Negatives: "Rms" Devonsh: Terr: 1 Finsbury Pk. 1 Stockwell 1 Balham "Eur" 2 W. Hampstead 3 W.11. 1 W. Hampstead 1 Bayswater 1 Mountview 1 W.14 1 Clapham Sth. "Rms" Sw. Cott: "White o'y" 1 Wandsworth Cmn "Eur" 1 Earlsfield "Rms" Nott: Hl: G: 1 W. Hampstead "Rms" Oval 1 Islington	Negatives: 1 Cricklewd "Eur" 1 Muswell Hl: 1 New X "Eur" 1 N. Lond: 1 Willesden "Eng" bus: lady" "Flats" N.W.10 1 S.E.15 "Eur" 1 Muswell Hl: 1 W.11. 1 W.11. 1 Barnes "Eur: prof: people" 1 E.12 "Eur" 1 Kennington Pk: 1 W.5 "Eng" 1 Kensington 1 Clapham Sth.	Negatives: 0
Positives: 0	Positives: "Rms" Kentish Tn: "Ind: studs:" "Rms" Golders Grn: "All nats: & cols: welc:"	Positives: "Flats" Amhurst "Col: welc:" 1 Clapham Cmn: "Any Nat"	Positives: 1 Croydon.

LONDON WEEKLY ADVERTISER.

Unfurn: flats, rms: hses:	Furn: rms:	Furn: fl:	Board & Residence

W/E Aug: 8th. '61.

TOTAL: 125.
(Agency 108)

Negatives:
1 Streatham "Eur"
1 Tufnell Pk:
1 Walthamstow
"Flats" N5, N16.
1 N.4.
1 Finsbury Pk. "Eng"
1 W.12 "Eur"

Positives: 0

TOTAL: 188
(Agency: 76)

Negatives:
1 Baron's Court
1 Clapham Sth.
1 W. Norwd: "Eng"
1 N.1. "Eng"
1 W.3. "Eng Bus:ly"
1 Queen's Pk:
1 Macaulay "Eur"
"Rms" Sw: Cott:
"White o'y"
1 Stamford Hl.
1 W. Hamp: "Eng bus:
gent"
2 SW.18 "Eng or Cont"
1 S. Ken: "Eur"
1 Muswell Hl.
1 W. Hamp:
1 Sw: Cott: "Eur"
1 Shepherd's Bush
1 Stockwell
"Rms" Bayswater
"Eur, Austr: N.Z."
1 S.W.6
1 Wd Grn "Eng bus:lady"
"Rms" Nott Hl G.
" " " SW9.
1 Islington
"Rms" Lancaster G.
1 Tottenham
1 UPP
1 W. Hamp:
1 Kentish Tn:

TOTAL: 179
(Agency 127)

Negatives:
1 Clapham Sth.
1 Muswell Hl.
1 Dulwich "Eng"
1 Stockwell "Eur"
(BAY 8882 Agent??)
1 Lexham Gdns "Eur"
1 Gladstone
1 Stanmore
2 Shepherd's B. "Eur"
1 ? "Eng"
"Flats" NW.10
1 Streatham "Eur"
1 Barnes " " "
1 Clapton
1 Clapham Sth.
1 N8 "Eng: lady"
1 Hackney

Positives:
"Flats & Rms:"
Amhurst "Col Welc:"
1 W9 "Col: O.K."
1 Palmers Grn."Any
nat:"
1 Bayswater "Any nat:"
"Suites" Sloane Sq.
"overseas vis: welc:"
(15 gns. wk)
1 Stamfd Hl; "Col:
welc:"

TOTAL: 12

Negatives:
"Rms" Tooting B'way
"Eur"

Positives:
"Rms" Croydon

Unfurn: flats, rms: hses:	Furn: rms:	Furn fl:	Board & Residence

W/E Aug: 8th '61 (con)

Positives:
1 Chesham "Col: folk pref:"
1 Penge "Col: only"
1 Westbourne Pk. "Ind couple"
1 Clapham Junc: "suit col: couple"
1 Enterprise "4 Pak:"

W/E Aug: 15th. '61.

TOTAL: 92
(Agency: 81)
Negatives:
1 Finsbury Pk."Eng"
1 Streatham "Eur"
2 Richmond "White only"
"Flats" E5, N16.
1 W.12 "Eur"
1 Hackney

Positives: 0

TOTAL: 94
(Agency: 37)
Negatives:
1 Wandsworth
1 Bayswater "White only"
1 Macaulay "Eur"
1 Hornsey "White bus: gent"
1 Shepherd's Bush
1 Wd. Grn. "Eng: bus: lady"
1 Clapham Sth.
"Rms" Oval
"Rms" Lancaster G.
1 Tottenham
1 W. Hampstead

Positives:
1 N. Lond: "Nigerian lady"
"Flatlets" Clap. Junc: "Resp: col: working men"

TOTAL: 140
(Agency:113)
Negatives:
1 Hammersmith
1 Kensington "White people"
1 Fulham "no negroes"
1 Holloway
1 Clapham Sth.
1 Clapham "
"Flatlets" Hornsey
1 Bayswater "White"
1 Islington
1 W.4.
1 Gladstone
1 Streatham "Eur"
1 Clapton
1 Clapham Sth.
1 Hornsey "Eng lady only"

TOTAL: 6

Negatives: 0

Positives:
"Rms" Croydon.

Unfurn: flats, rms: hses:	Furn: rms:	Furn: fl:	Board & Residence
W/E Aug: 15th '61 (con)			
	1 Clapham "Col: folk pref:" 1 Penge "Col: only"	**Positives:** "Suites": Sloane Sq. "Overseas vis: welc:" (15 gns.)	
W/E Aug: 22nd. '61.			
TOTAL: 101 (Agency: 82)	**TOTAL:** 151 (Agency: 31)	**TOTAL:** 195 (Agency: 165)	**TOTAL:** 6
Negatives: "Flats" E5, N.16. " " " E5, N.16. 1 W.12 "Eur" "Flats" N4, E5.	**Negatives:** 1 Golders Grn. 1 Holborn "Eng: bus: lady" 1 U. Clapton "Rms" W. Hamp: 1 Kilburn 1 Tottenham "Rms" Sw: Cott: "Eng. Cont" 1 Turnpike La: 1 Tufnell Pk: 1 Dalston 1 Park Ave. "Eng" 1 North 1 Balham "Eur" 1 Queen's Pk. 2 Holloway 1 Stanmore 1 SW.2 1 Lewisham 1 Highgate "No col: or foreigners" 1 Macaulay "Eur" 1 Shephard's Bush 1 Wd: Grn: "Eng: bus: lady"	**Negatives:** 1 Islington 1 Stanmore "Rms" Maida V. & Bayswater "Wh: o'y" 1 SW.6 1 Maida Vale 1 Archway 1 Ladbroke G. "Eur" 1 Dulwich "Eng" 1 Tooting B'way "Eng or Eur" 1 Muswell Hill 1 Highgate "No col: or foreigners" 1 Shepherd's Bush "Eng"	**Negatives:** 0
Positives: 1 Finchley 1 "		**Positives:** 1 Essex Rd. "W.I. welc:"	**Positives:** "Rms" Croydon.

Unfurn: flats: rms: hses:	Furn: rms:	Furn: fl:	Board & Residence

W/E Aug: 22nd '61 (con)

1 Southall
1 N.W.1
1 W.11.
1 Clissold
"Rms" Nott Hill G.
"Rms" SW.9.
"Rms" W.2
1 Finsbury Pk.

Positives:
1 Penge "Col: only"
30/-
1 Enterprise "Pak:"
1 Golders Grn. "All nats: welc:"
1 Hendon "Col welc:"
1 Clapham Junc: "Col: man" £3-12-6.

W/E Aug: 29th '61.

TOTAL: 87
(Agency: 67)
Negatives:
"Flats" N.16, E5.
1 Stoke Newington
"Flats" E5, E17, N4.

Positives:
1 Finchley "Col welc:" £9 inc.

TOTAL: 154
(Agency: 55)
Negatives:
1 Mountview
1 Forest Hl "resp: Eur"
1 Macaulay "Eur"
1 Tottenham
1 Maida Vale "Eur"
1 Wd: Grn: "Eng: bus. lady"
1 Turnpike La:
1 Ladbroke Gr:
1 Clapham S: "Cult: bus: Eur:"

TOTAL: 196
(Agency: 156)
Negatives:
1 Shepherd's B. "Eng"
1 Golders Grn. "Eng"
1 Streatham Hl."White people"
1 Islington
1 N.15 (ST: AG:)
"Flats" Balham "Eur"
1 Muswell Hill
1 W.14
1 SE.12 (ST: AG:)
1 W1. (ST: AG:)

TOTAL: 14

Negatives: 0

Positives:
"Rms" Croydon.

Unfurn: flats, rms: hses:	Furn: rms:	Furn: fl:	Board & Residence

W/E Aug: 29th '61. (con)

	1 SW.6	1 Thornton Hth (ST:AG:)
	1 Turnham Grn:	1 Brighton (ST: AG:)
	"Rms" Sw: Cott: "Wh: o'y"	1 Brixton "Eur"
		1 Highbury
	1 Bayswater	1 Brixton "Eur"
	1 Balham "Eur"	1 Notting Hill "Eur"
	1 Balham "Eur"	1 Ealing "Eur"
	"Rms" Bayswater	1 Clissold
	" " " SW.9	1 W.4.
	" " " Lancaster G.	1 Balham "Eur"
	1 Victoria "Eng: bus: gent"	1 Balham "Eur/Austr:/ Canad:"
	"Rms" SW.9 "Eur"	
	" " " Newington Grn:	Positives:
		1 Finsbury Pk: 5gns.
	Positives:	1 Essex Rd: "W.I. welc"
	1 Balham "Nigerians or Ghanaians"	

W/E Sept. 12th. '61.

TOTAL: 114 (Agency: 92)	TOTAL: 201 (Agency: 89)	TOTAL: 199 (Agency: 154)	TOTAL: 10
Negatives:	Negatives:	Negatives:	Negatives: 0
1 Stamford Hl.	1 SW.9.	1 Brixton	
1 Brixton "Eng"	1 NW.5.	1 W.11	Positives:
1 N.1	1 W.2	1 NW.11 "Eur"	"Rms" Croydon
1 Ladbroke Gr. "Eur"	1 Macaulay "Eur"	1 Dulwich "Eng. bus: lady"	
Positives:	1 FIT	1 Islington	
1 W.9 "Col: welc:"	1 ? "Eng"	1 Streatham	
2 Clapham Junc: "Col: welc:"	1 Stanmore	1 Tufnell Pk. "Eng"	
	1 SW.9 "Eur"	1 Balham	
	"Rms" Shepherd's Bush	1 Bayswater	
	1 NOR	1 Highgate "Eur"	
	1 Wd. Grn. "Eng. bus: lady"	1 Kensal Rise	

Unfurn: flats, rms: hses:	Furn: rms:	Furn: fl:	Board & Residence

W/E Sept. 12th. '61. (con)

1 Hampstead
"Rms" Sw: Cott: "Wh: o'y"
1 Mountview
1 " "Eng: bus: lady"
1 W.11
1 N.6 "Eur"
1 Peckham
"Rms" Nott: Hl: G.
1 N.19
1 Bayswater "Wh: o'y"
1 Hampstead
1 Balham "Eur"
1 GLA
1 N.4
1 Maida Vale.

Positives:
1 Streatham "overseas vis: welc:" (10 gns)

b) DALTON'S WEEKLY.

Furn: Flats	Furn: Apart:	Unfurn: Flats
June 3rd '61		
TOTAL: 19	TOTAL: 42	TOTAL: 9
Negatives: 0	Negatives:	Negatives: 0
Positives: 0	1 N.W.2 "Eng:" "Flatlets" S. Ken: "Eur" "Rms" Bayswater. "Eur, Austral:, N.Z."	Positives: 0
	Positives: 0	
June 17th '61.		
TOTAL: 22 (8 Agency)	TOTAL: 52	TOTAL: 7 (5 Agency)
Negatives:	Negatives:	Negatives: 0
1 St. John's Wd: "Eur" 1 Maida Hill "Eng"	"Flatlets" S. Ken:"Eur"	Positives: 0
Positives: 0	Positives: 1 Earlsfield "Eur & Asian Ind."	
June 24th '61.		
TOTAL: 31 (6 Agency)	TOTAL: 51 £1	TOTAL: 3 (1 Agency)
Negatives:	Negatives:	Negatives: 0
1 St. John's Wd: "Eur" 1 Kensington "Brit: gent" 1 Maida Hill, "Eng" 1 Putney "Eng" 1 S. Lond: "Eur: U.K."	1 St. John's Wd: "Eur" 1 Batt: Pk: "Eng: bus: ladies" "Flatlets" Sth. Ken. "Eur"	Positives: 0
Positives: 0	Positives: 1 Hampstead "Any nat: welc:"	
July 1st '61.		
TOTAL: 32 (7 Agency)	TOTAL: 46	TOTAL: 1 (0 Agency)
Negatives: 1 SW.11 "U.K. & Eur:" 1 SE.5 "Eur" 1 Ken: "Brit" 1 Maida Hill "Eng" 1 Putney "Eng" 1 SW.8 "Eur"	Negatives: 1 St. John's Wd."Eur"	Negatives: 1 Highgate "U.K. citizen"
Positives: 0	Positives: "Rms" Hampstead "Any nat: welc:"	Positives: 0

DALTON'S WEEKLY

Furn: Flats	Furn Apart:	Unfurn: Flats
July 8th '61.		
TOTAL: 27 (9 Agency)	TOTAL: 51 (0 Agency)	TOTAL: 7 (5 Agency)
Negatives:	Negatives:	Negatives: 0
1 Brixton "Eur" 1 Ken. "Brit" 1 Putney "Eng"	1 St. John's Wd. "Eur" 1 Brockley "Eur"	Positives: 0
Positives: 0	Positives: "Rms" Hampstead "Any nat: welc:"	
July 15th '61.		
TOTAL: 19 (9 Agency)	TOTAL: 50 (0 Agency)	TOTAL: 6 (4 Agency)
Negatives: 0	Negatives:	Negatives: 0
Positives: 0	1 Brixton "Eng" 1 Maida Vale "Brit & Christians only" 1 Wandsworth Cmn."Eng"	Positives: 0
	Positives: 0	
July 22nd '61.		
TOTAL: 17 (2 Agency)	TOTAL: 47 (0 Agency)	TOTAL: 6 (4 Agency)
Negatives:	Negatives:	Negatives: 0
1 Streatham Cmn. "Eng"	1 Brixton "Eng bus'mn"	Positives: 0
Positives: 0	1 Maida Vale "Eng & Christians only" 1 SW.4 "Eur"	
	Positives: 0	
July 29th. '61.		
TOTAL: 14 (6 Agency)	TOTAL: 42	TOTAL: 4 (3 Agency)
Negatives: 0	Negatives:	Negatives: 0
Positives: 0	1 Brixton "Eng" 2 Maida Vale "Brit.& Christians only" 1 S.W.4 "Eur	Positives: 0
	Positives: 0	

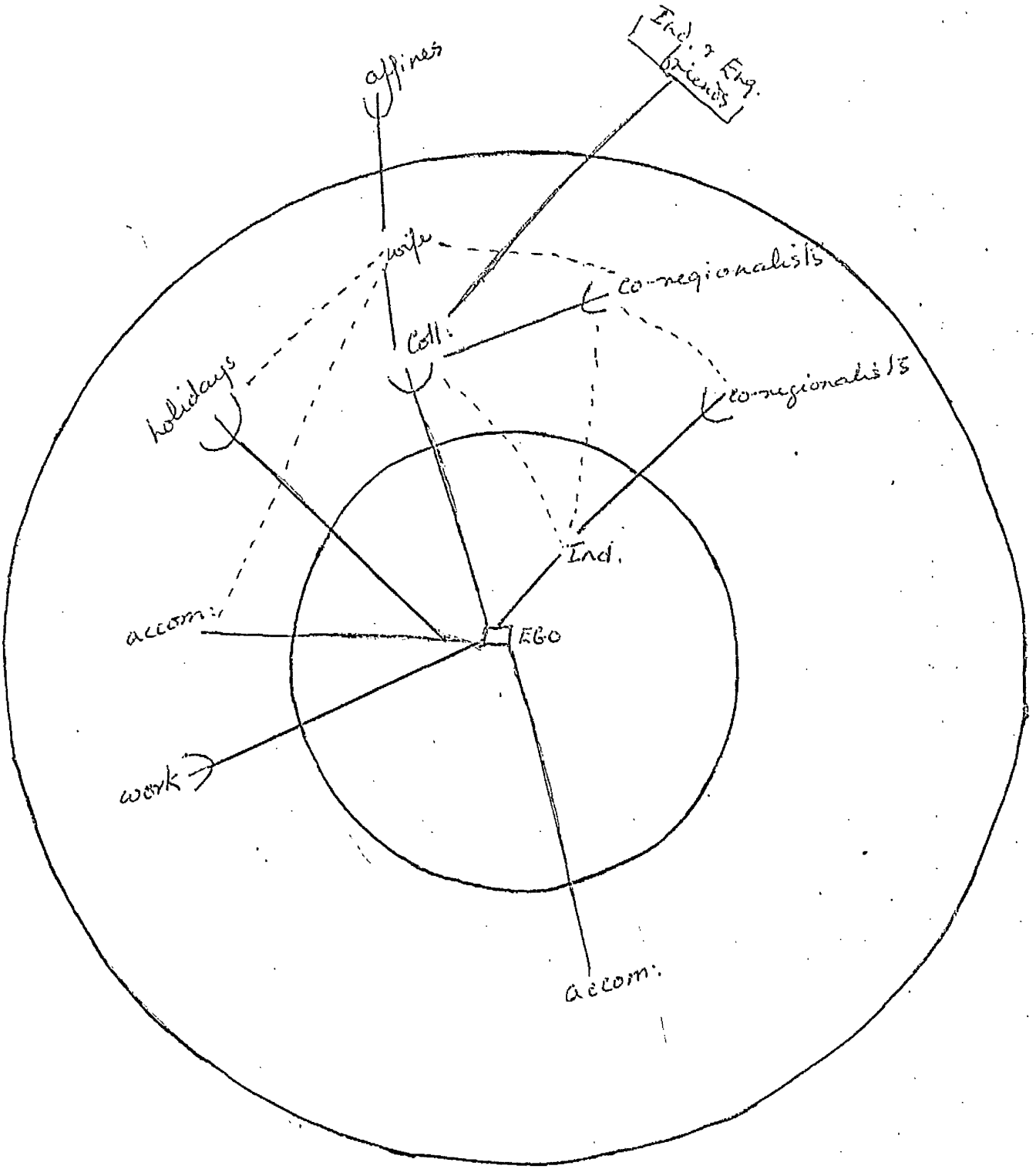
DALTON'S WEEKLY.

Furn: Flats	Furn Apart:	Unfurn: Flats
August 5th. '61.		
TOTAL: 17 (3 Agency)	TOTAL: 54	TOTAL: 7 (4 Agency)
Negatives:	Negatives:	Negatives: 0
1 Maida Hl: "Eng" 1 S.W.8. "Eur"	1 St. John's Wd."Eur" 2 S.W.2 "Eur" 1 Bayswater "Eur, Austral, N.Z." 1 S.W.4 "Eur	Positives: 0
Positives: 0	Positives: 0	

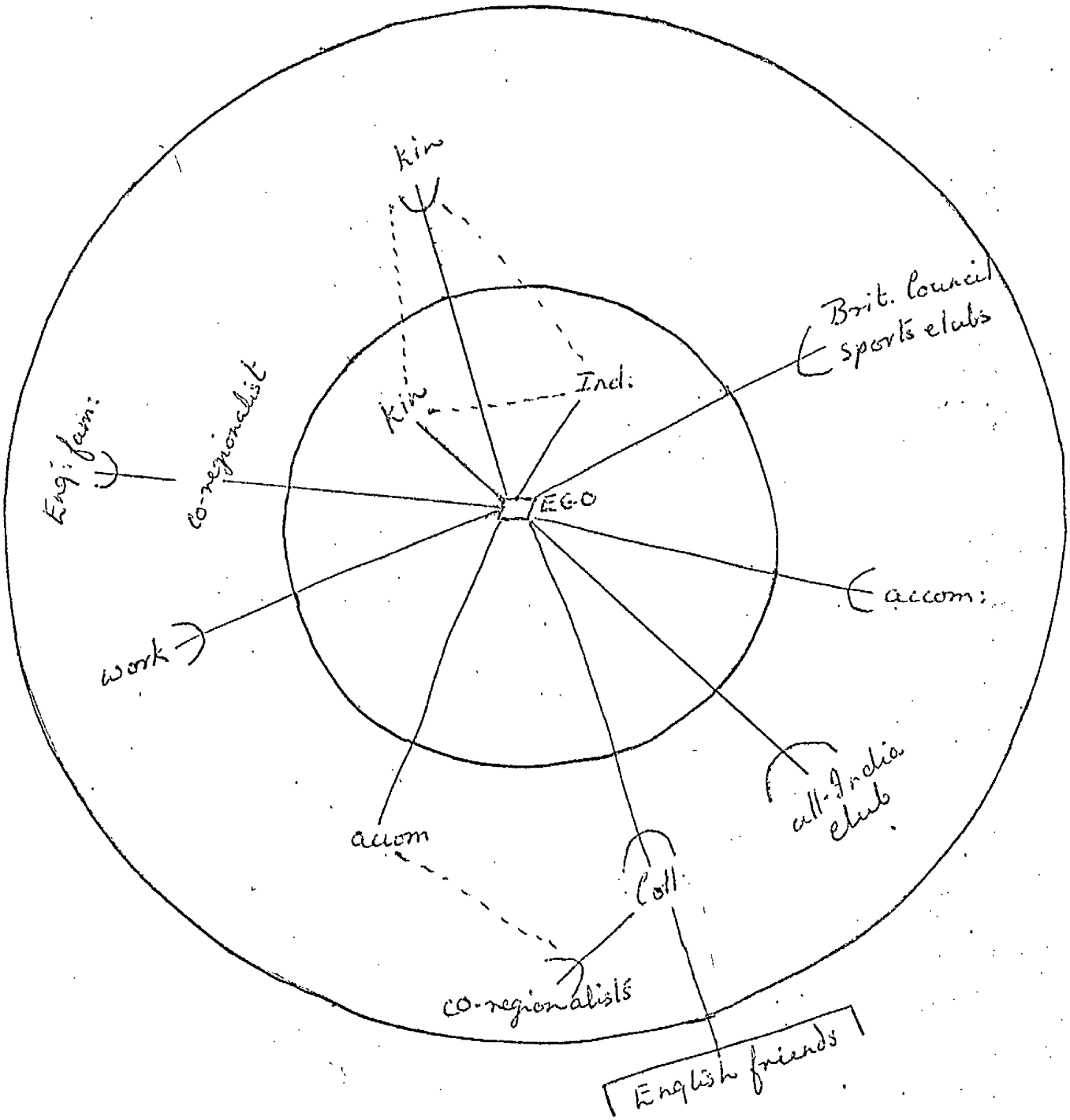
APPENDIX IV.

Diagrammatic representation of friendship circles of case studies 8-30.

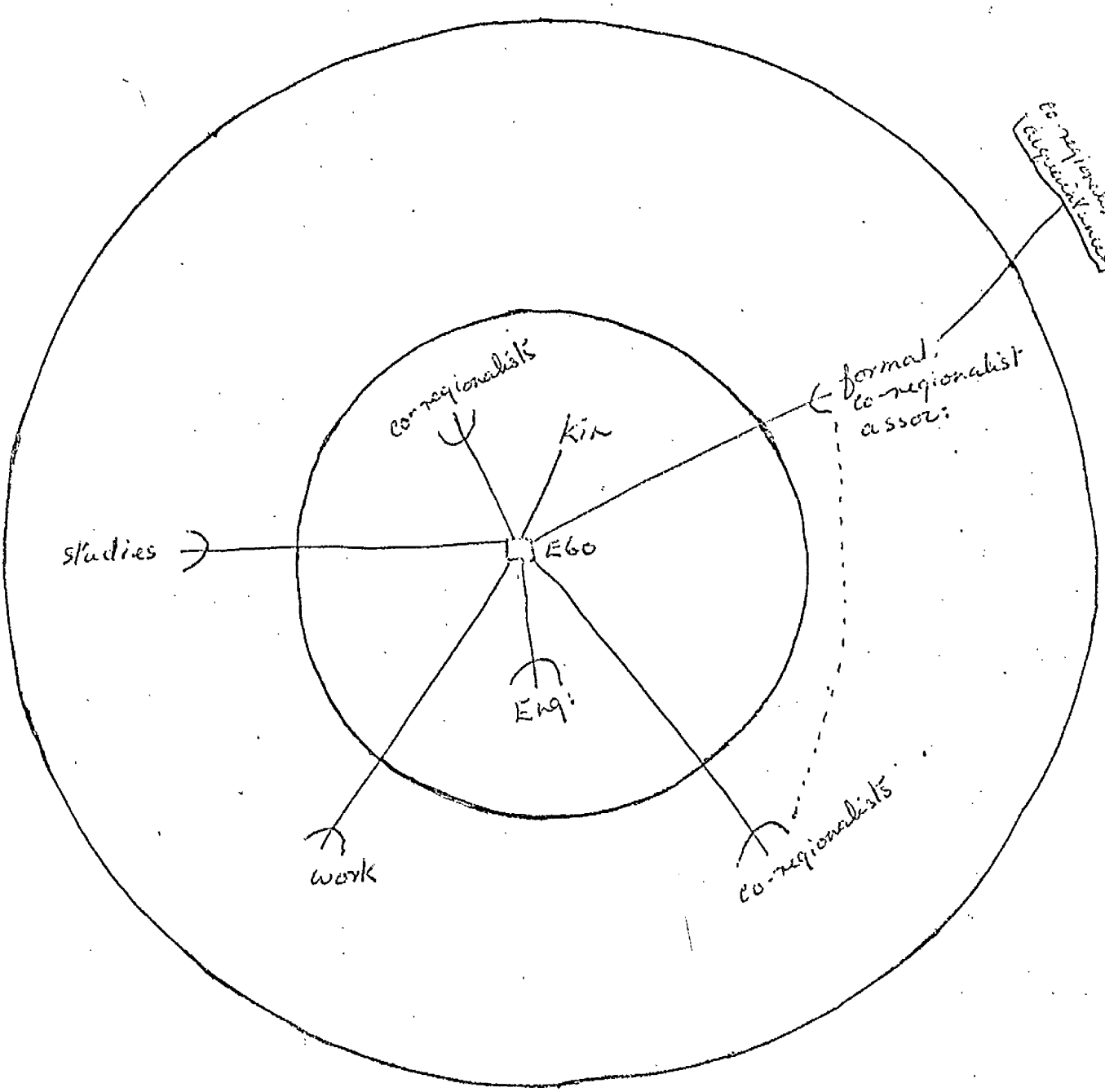
8

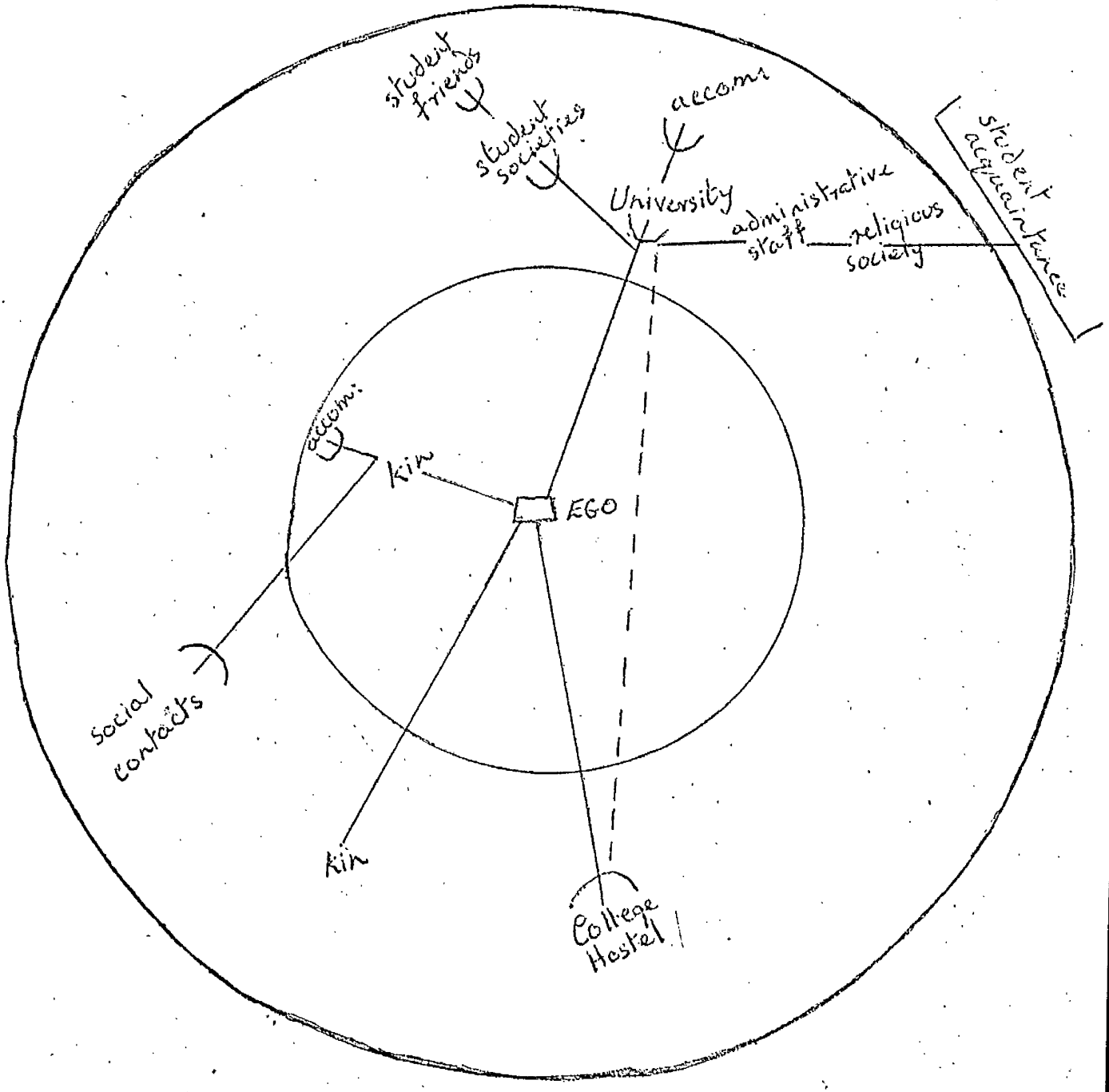

affines
Ind. + Eng. friends
wife
co-regionalists
coll.
holidays
co-regionalists
Ind.
accom.
EGO
work
accom.

9

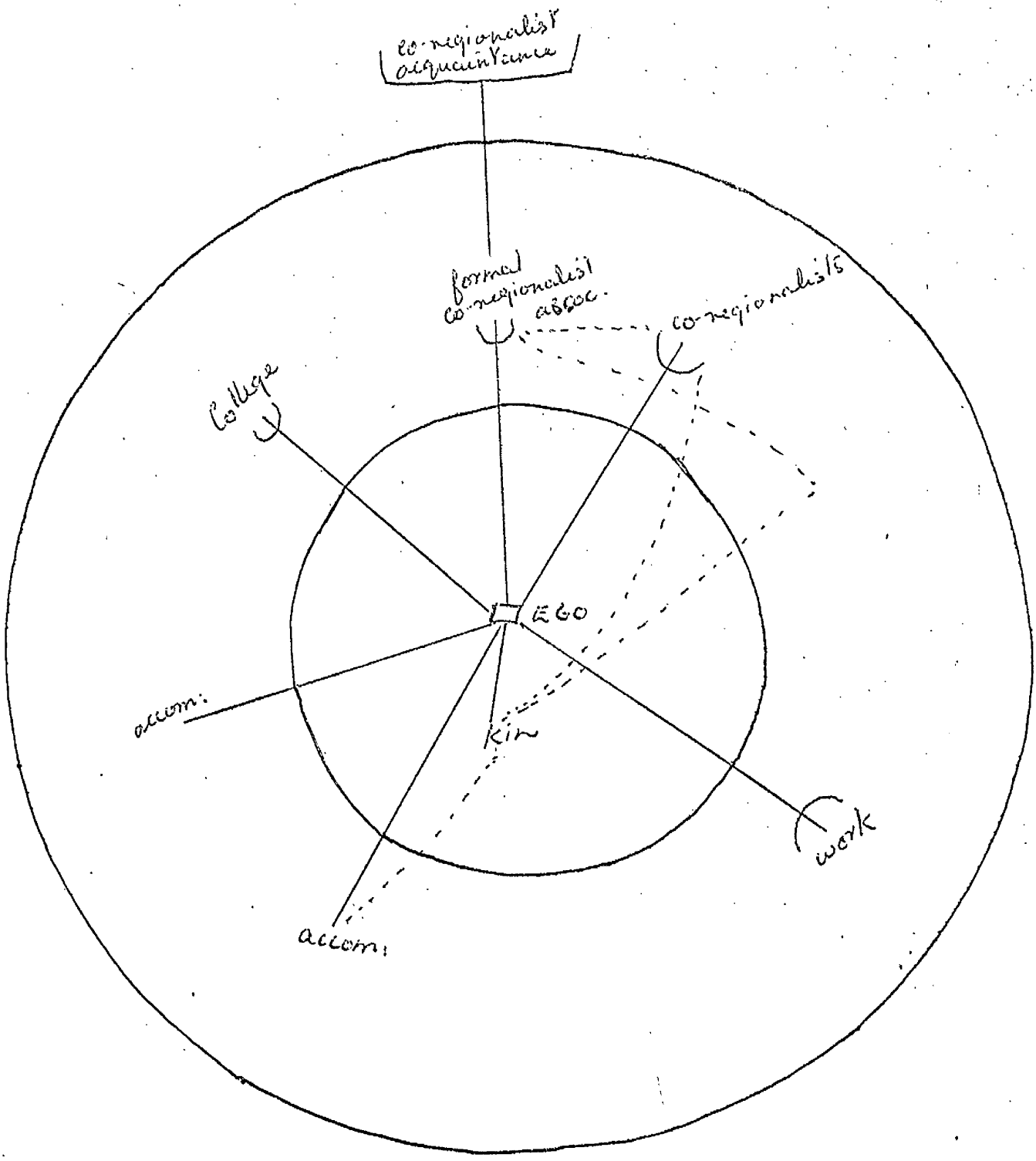

kin
kin
Ind:
EGO
Brit. Council
sports clubs
accom:
all-India
club
Coll
English friends
co-regionalists
accom
work
co-regionalist
Engl: fam:

10

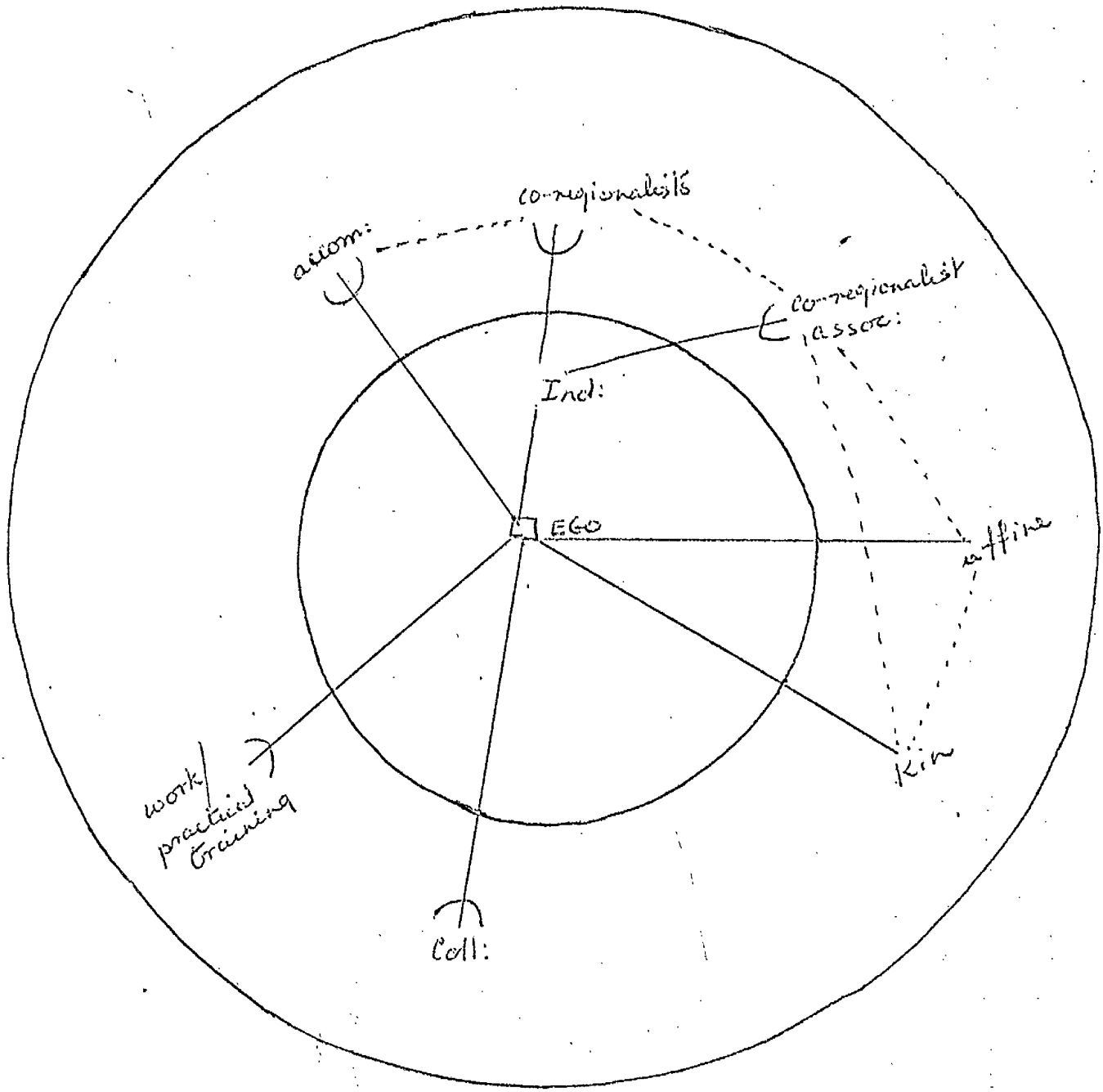

co-regionalist
co-regionalist
kin
formal co-regionalist assoc.
studies
EGO
Eng.
work
co-regionalists


student friends
student societies
accom.
University
administrative staff
religious society
student acquaintances
accom.
Kin
EGO
social contacts
Kin
College Hostel

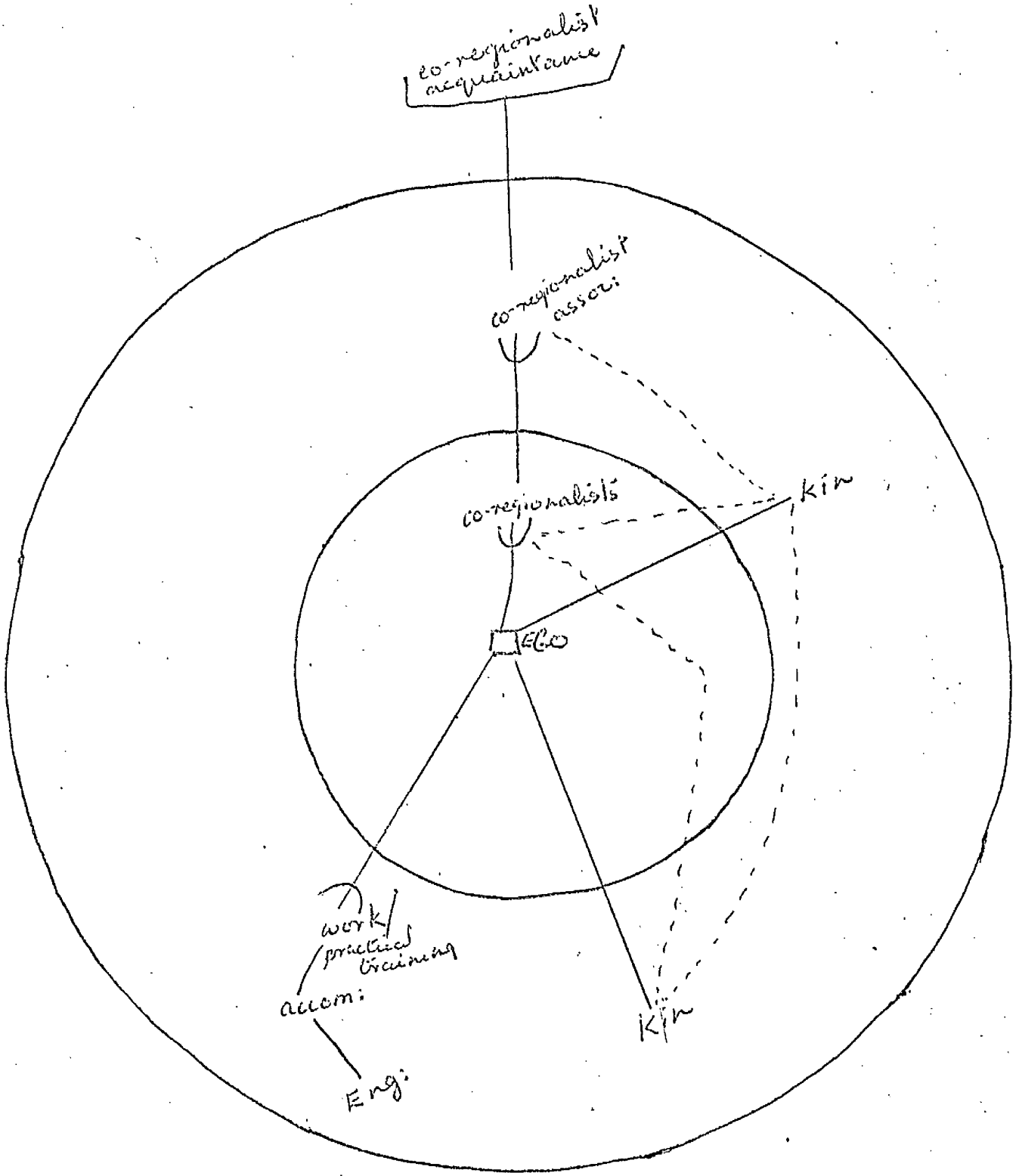
12


co-regionalist acquaintance
formal co-regionalist assoc.
co-regionalists
college
EGO
accom.
kin
work
accom.

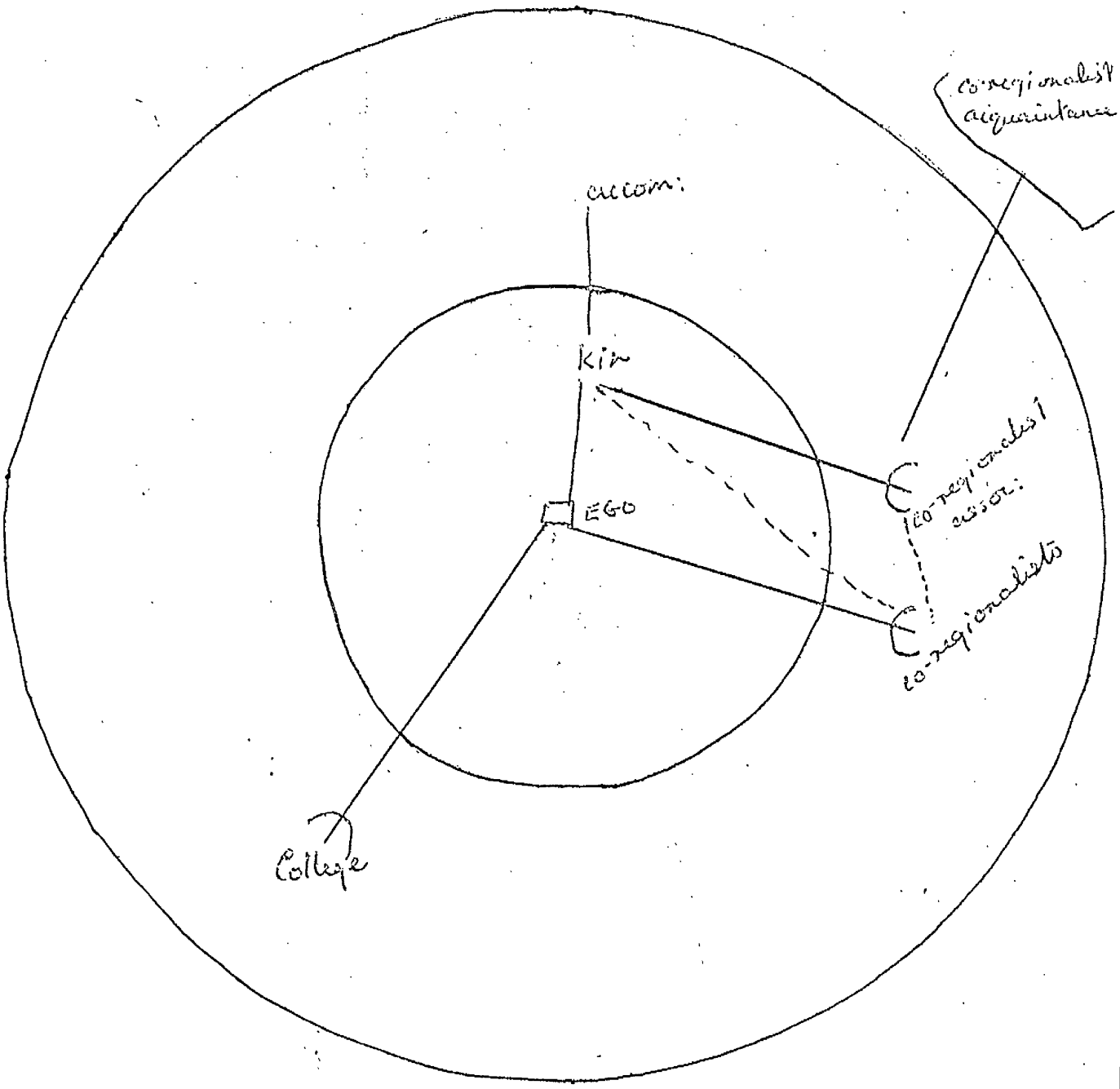
13

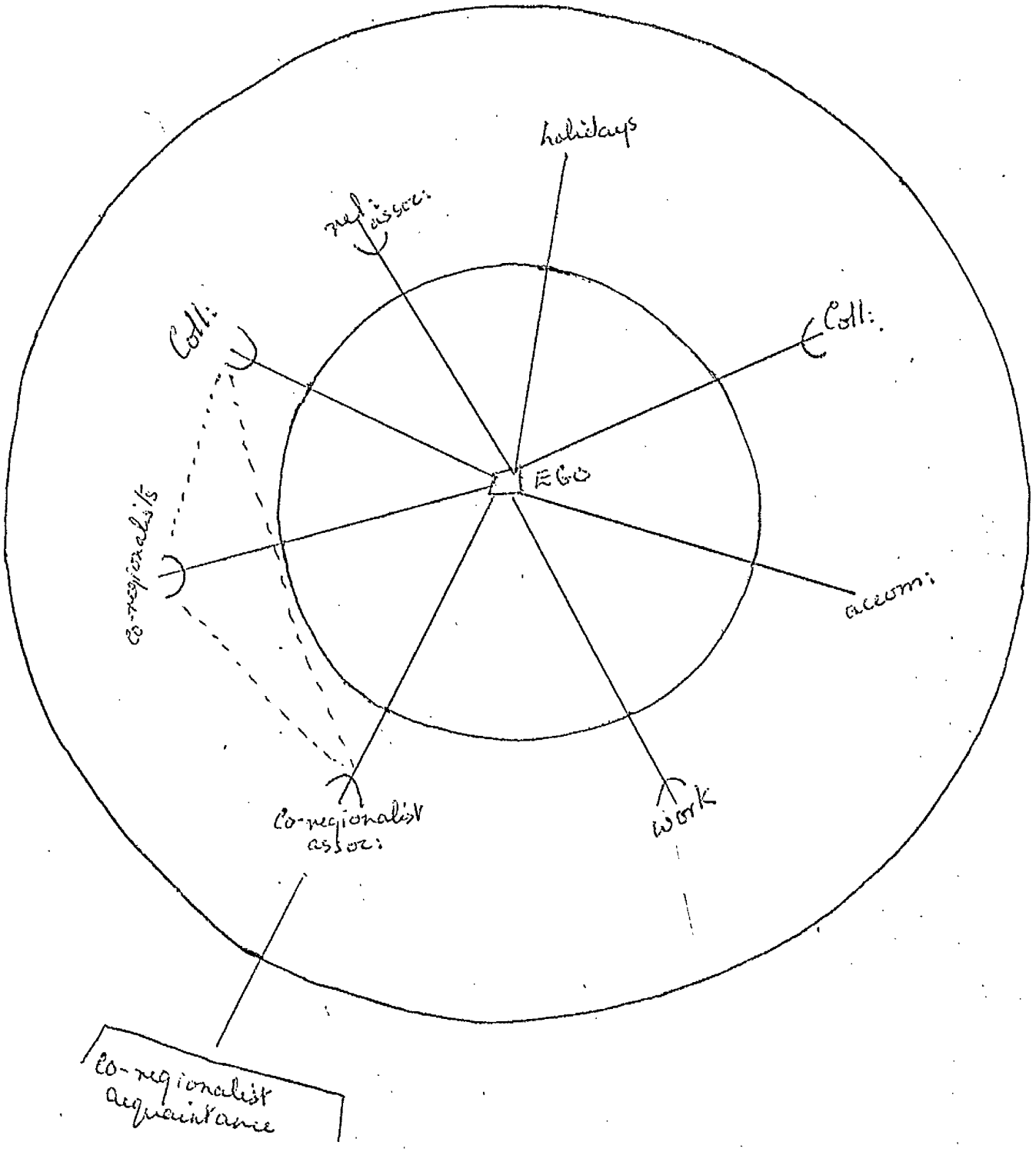

co-regionalist
axiom:
co-regionalist
assoc:
Ind:
EGO
affine
work/
practical
training
Kin
Coll:

14

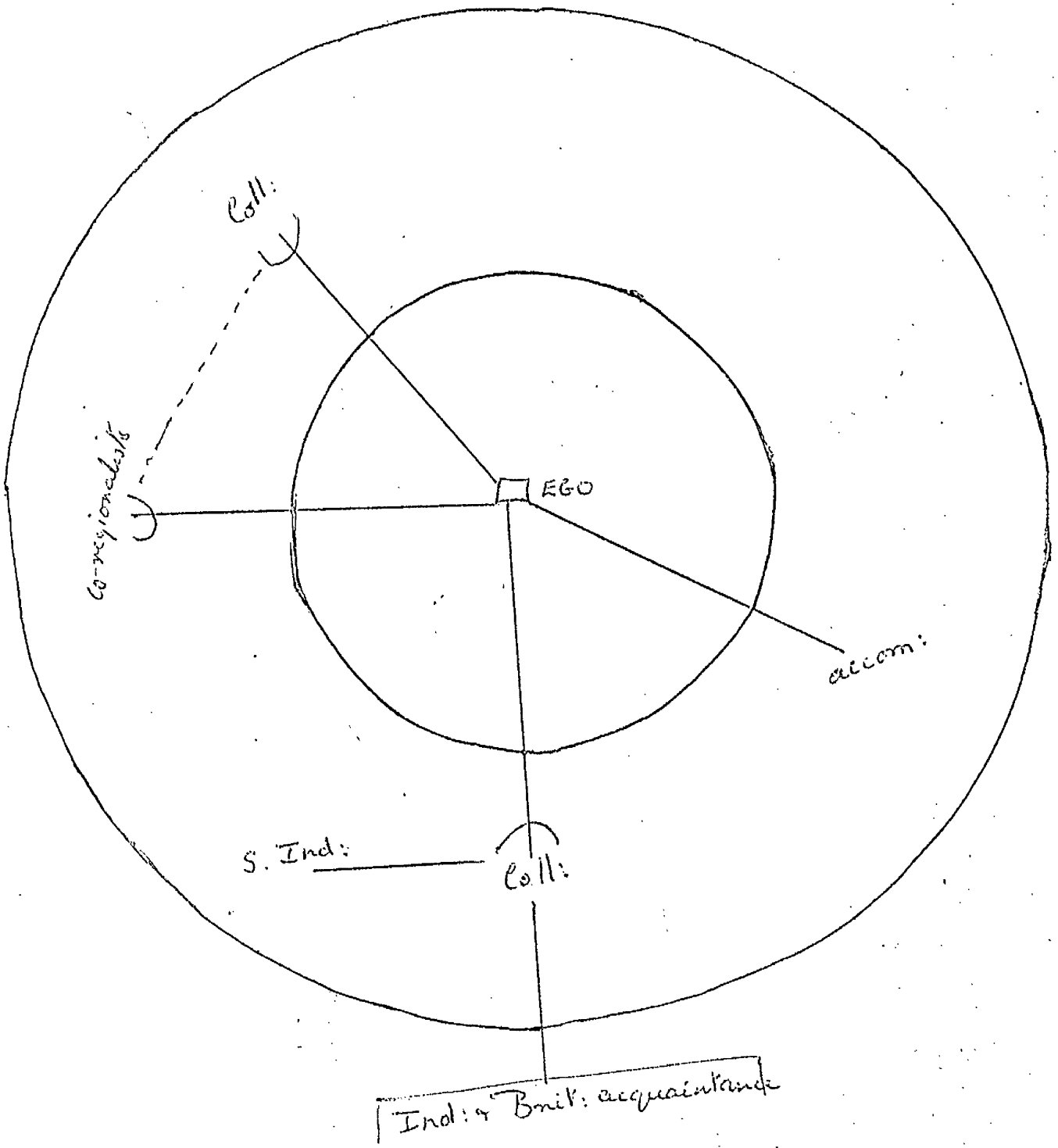

co-regionalist acquaintance
co-regionalist assoc:
co-regionalists
kin
Eco
work/ practical training
accom:
Engl
kin

15

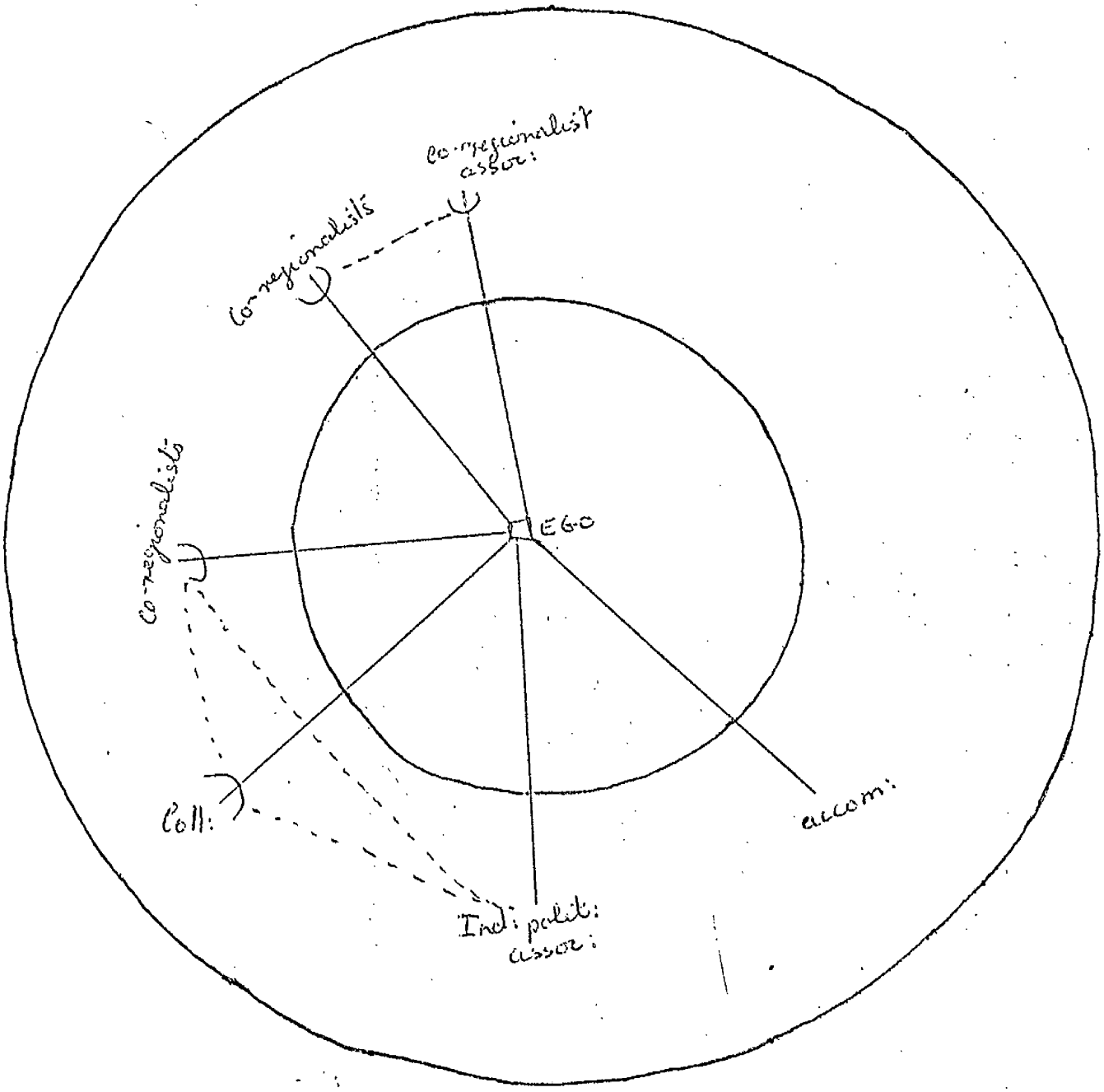

co-regionalist acquaintance
accom.
kin
EGO
co-regionalist assoc.
co-regionalists
College

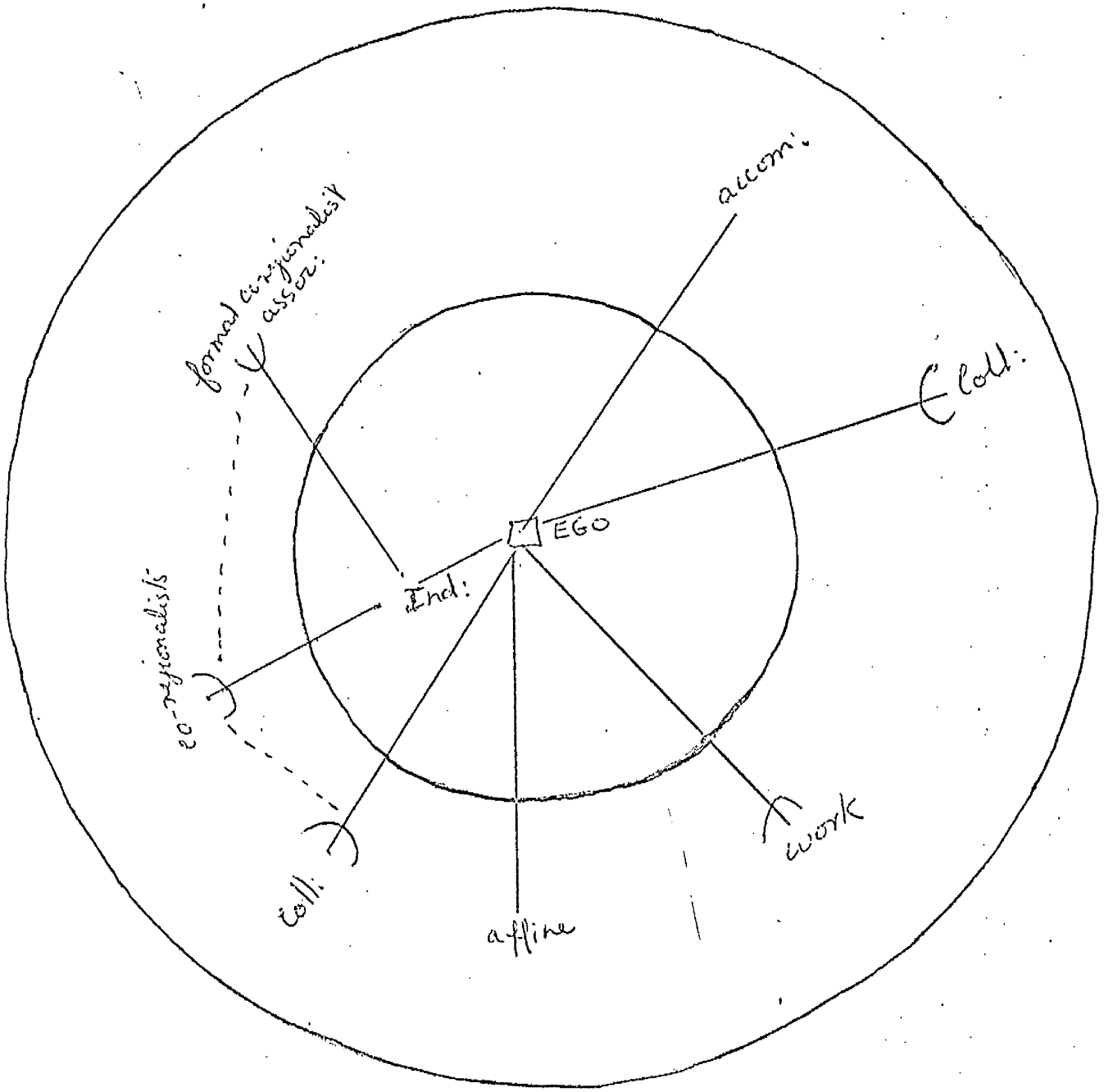

holidays
neighbours
Coll:
Coll:
co-regionalists
EGO
accom:
Co-regionalist assoc:
work
Co-regionalist acquaintance

17

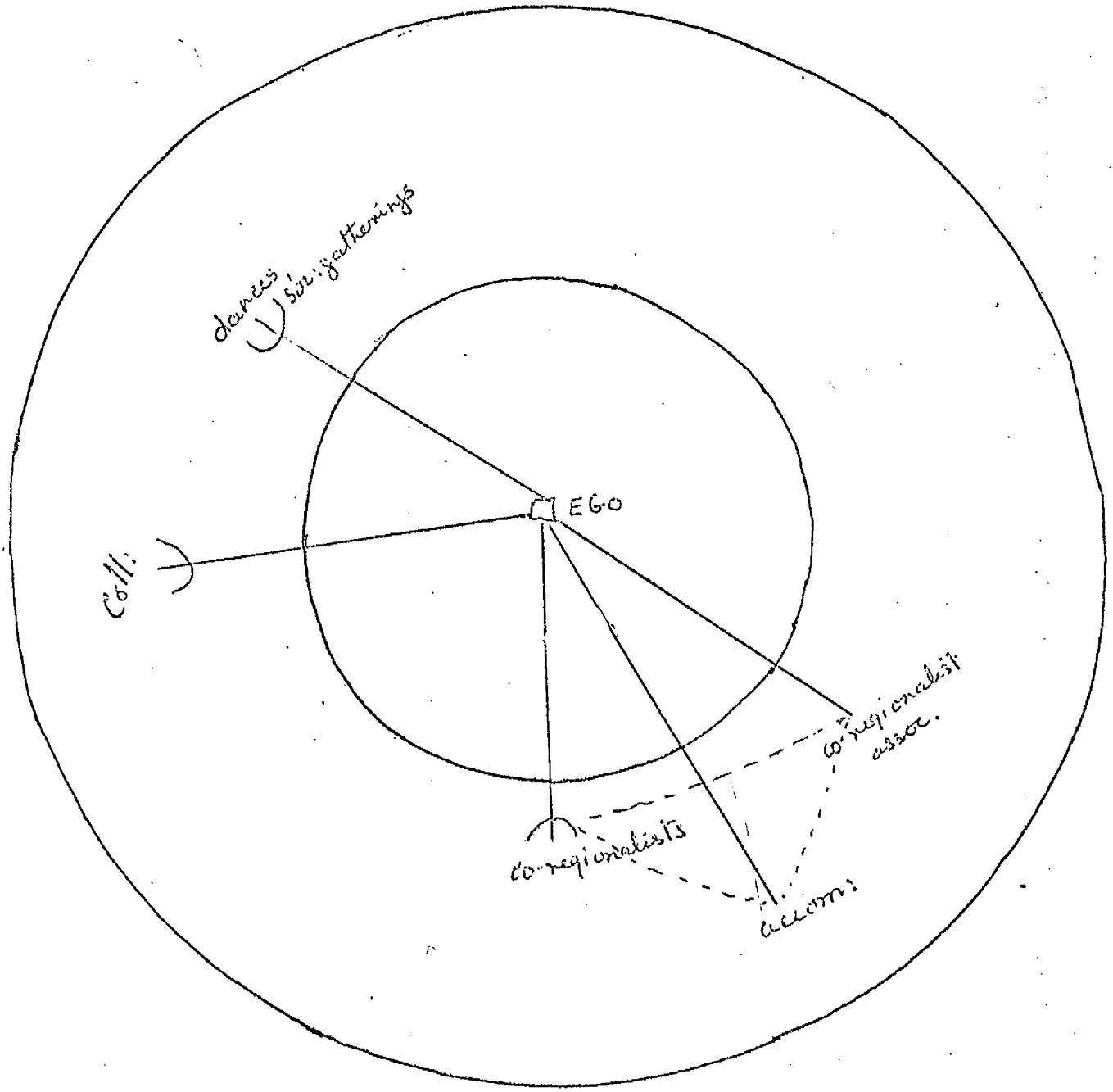

Coll:
Co-residents
EGO
accom:
S. Ind:
Coll:
Ind: & Bnil: acquaintance

18

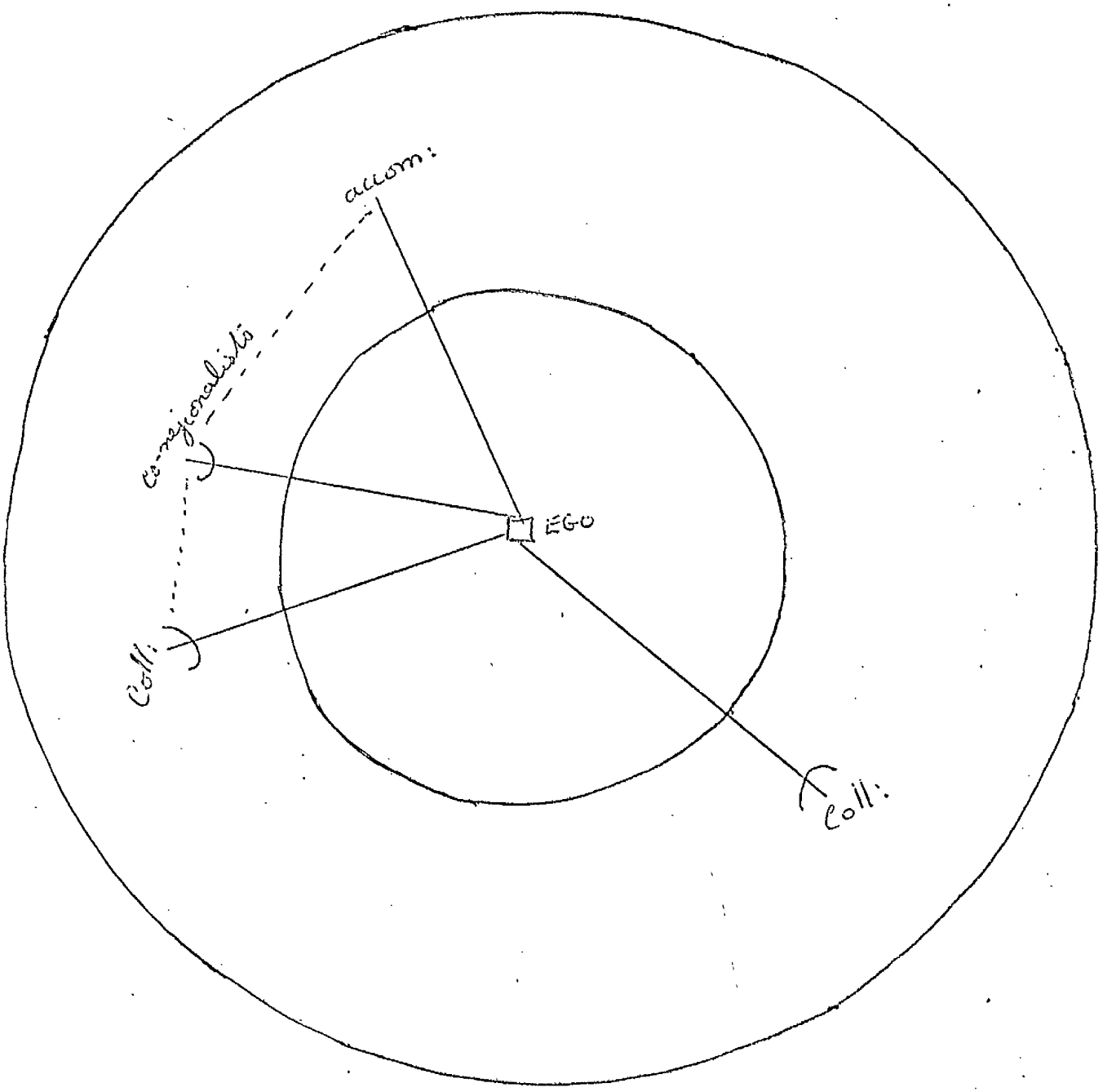

co-regionalist assoc:
co-regionalists
co-regionalists
EGO
Coll:
accom:
Indi: polit: assoc:


formal conjunctive assoc:
accom:
coll:
EGO
Ind:
co-syntagmatic/s
coll:
affine
work

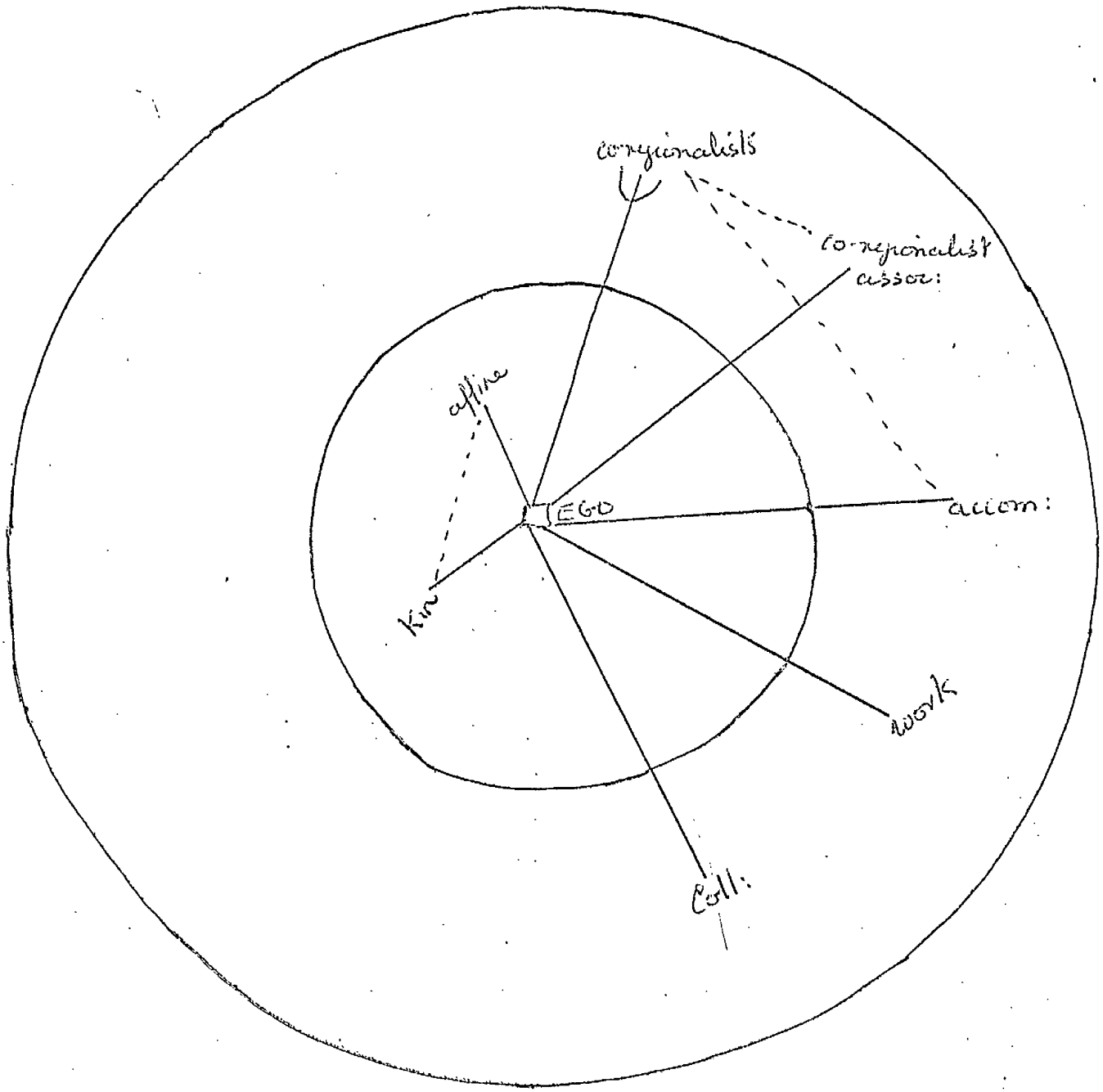
20


dances
soc. gatherings
EGO
coll.
co-negi orgs
co-negi orgs
co-negi orgs
accom.
co-negi orgs
assoc.

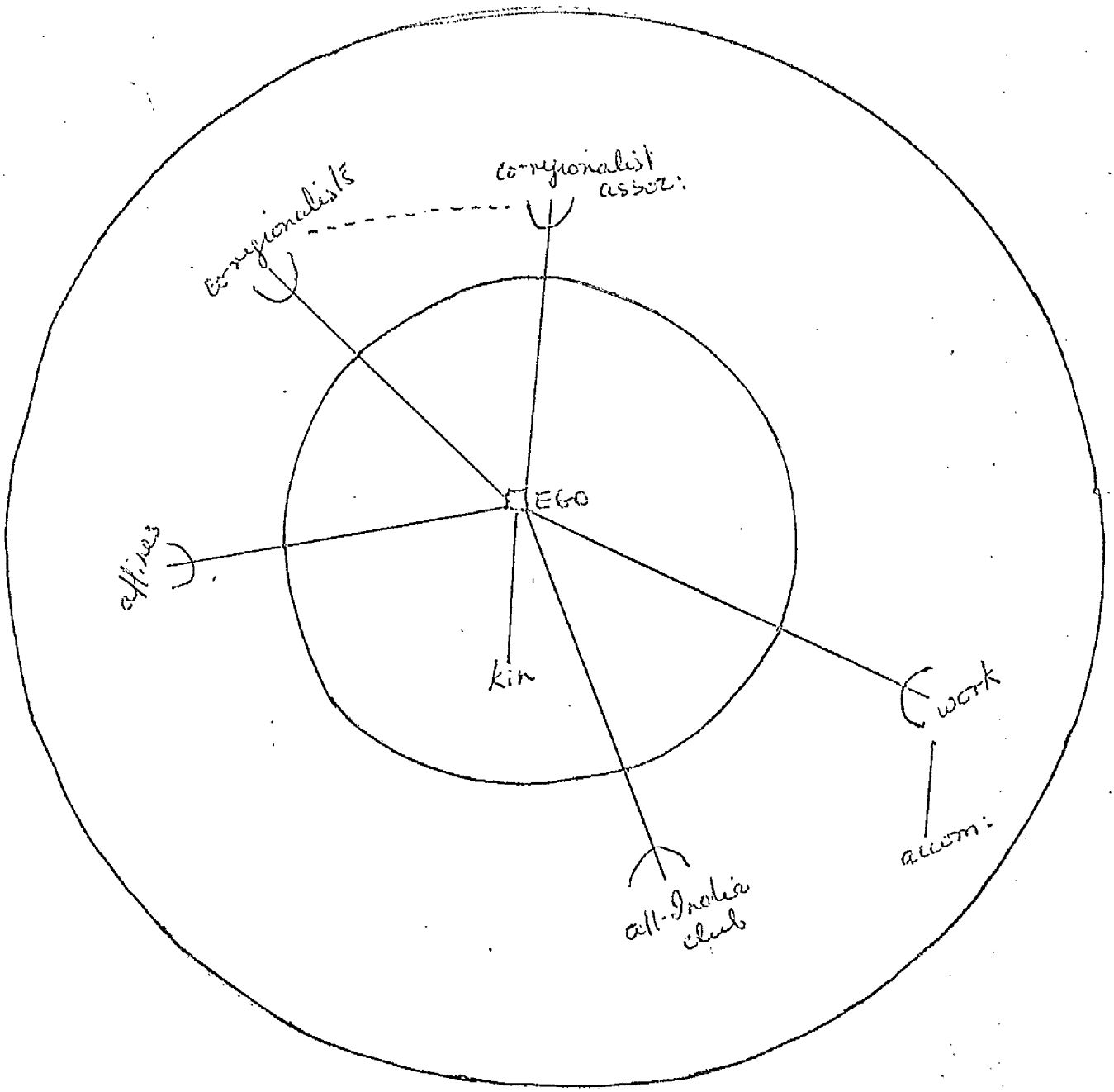
37



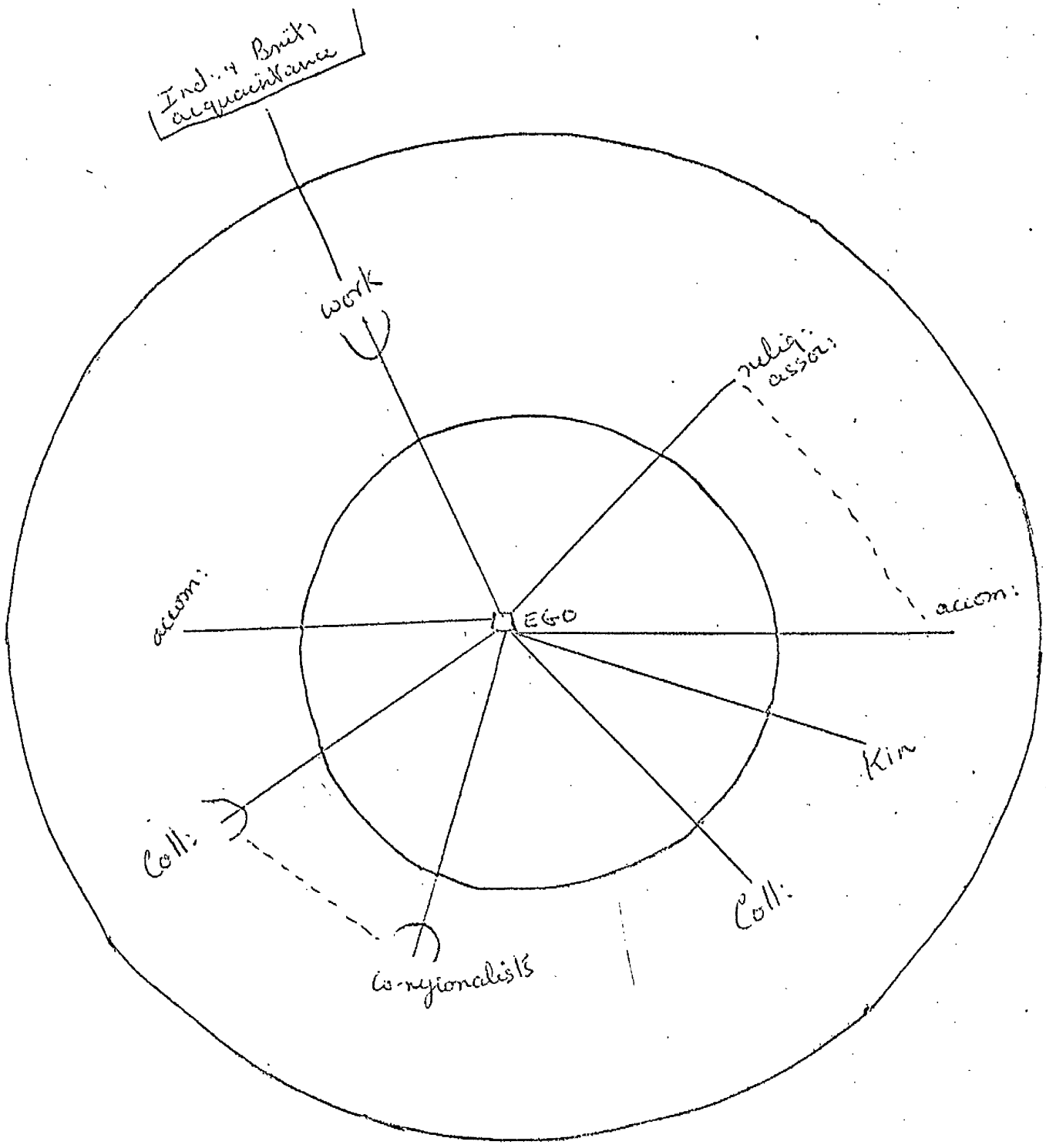
22


co-regionalists
co-regionalist assoc:
affine
EGO
accom:
kin
work
coll:

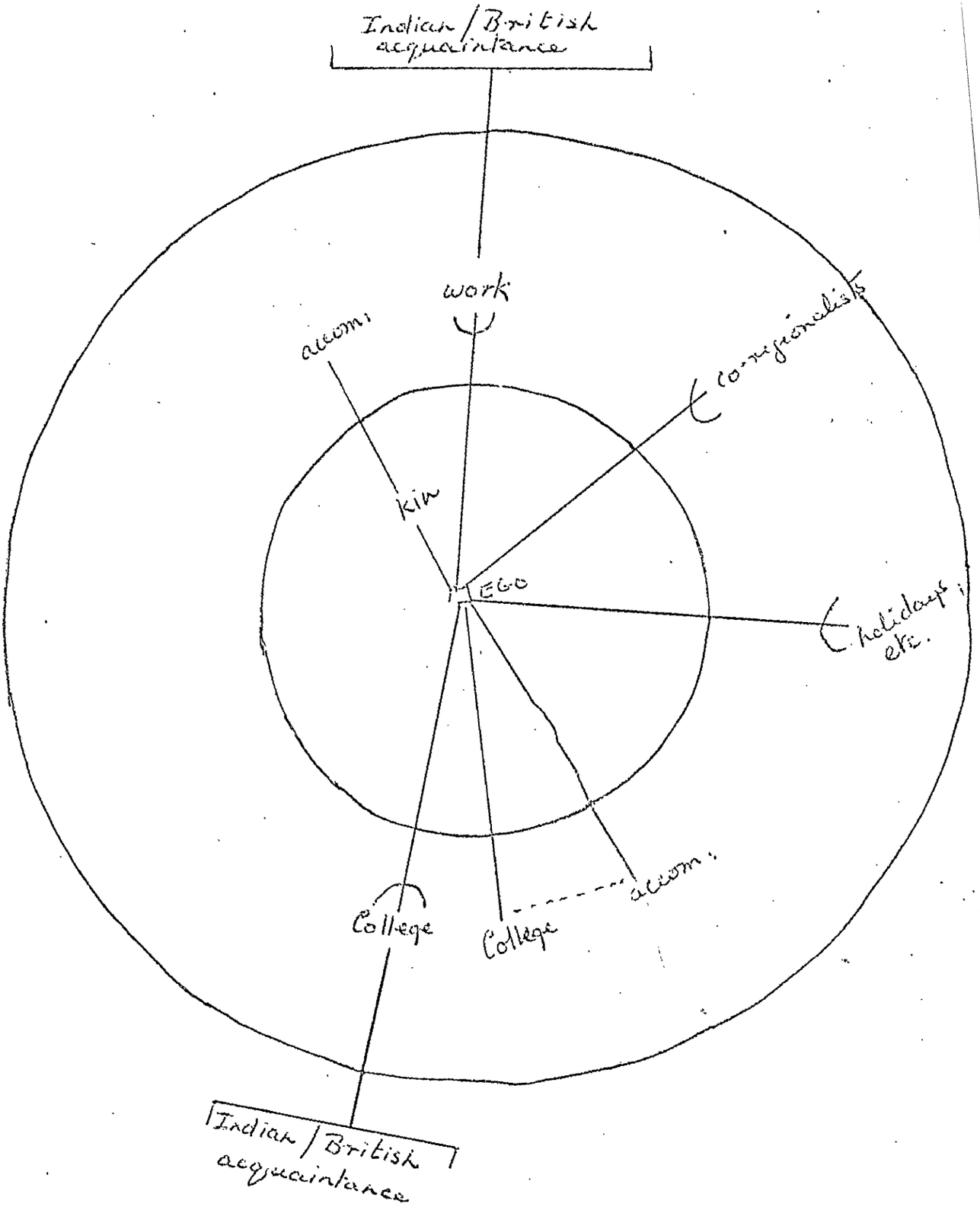
23


co-regionalists
co-regionalist assoc.
EGO
affines
kin
work
all-Inuit club
assoc.

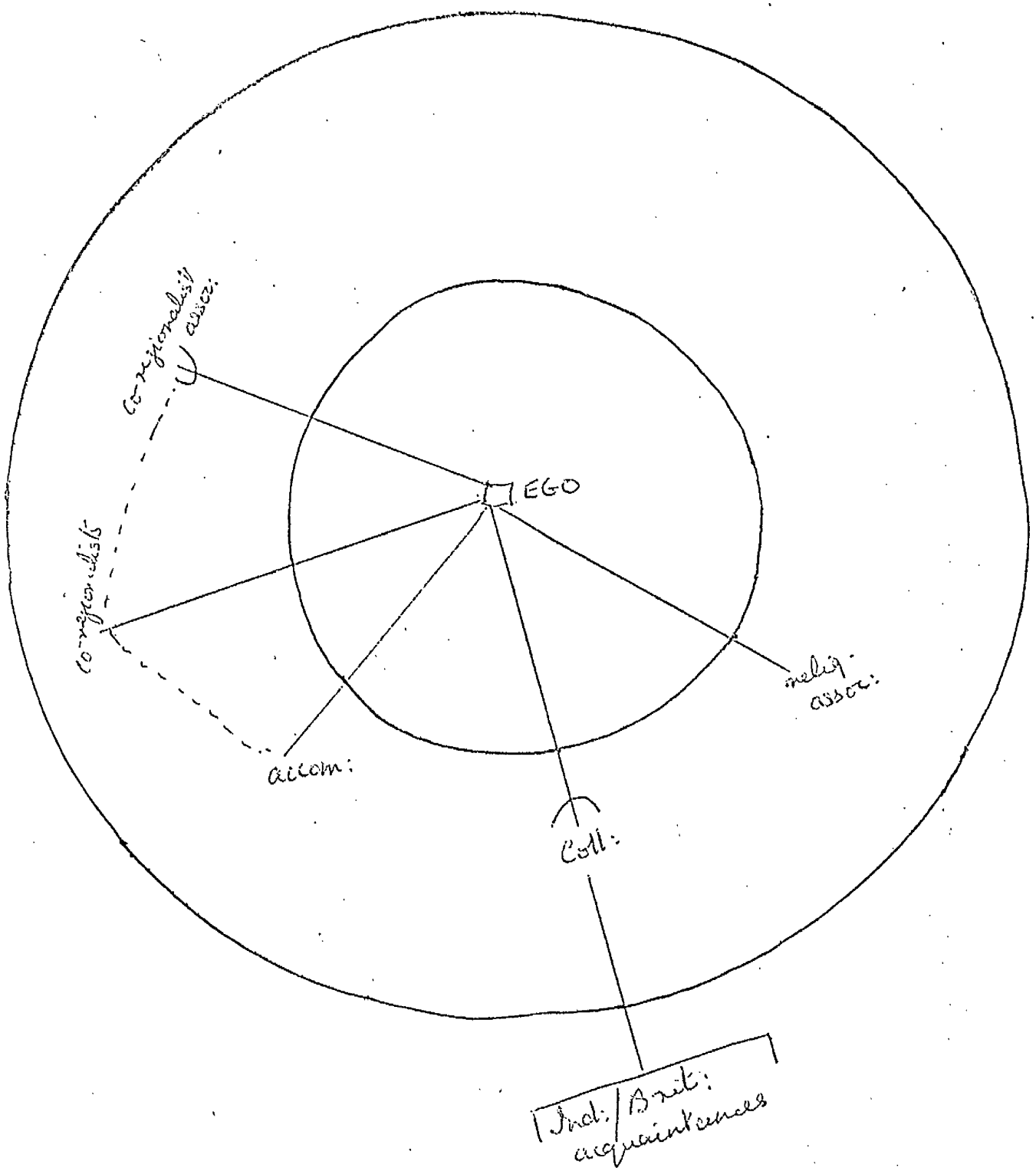
24


Ind.+ Busin. acquaintance
work
relig. assoc.
assoc.
EGO
assoc.
Kin
Coll.
Coll.
Co-nyionalists

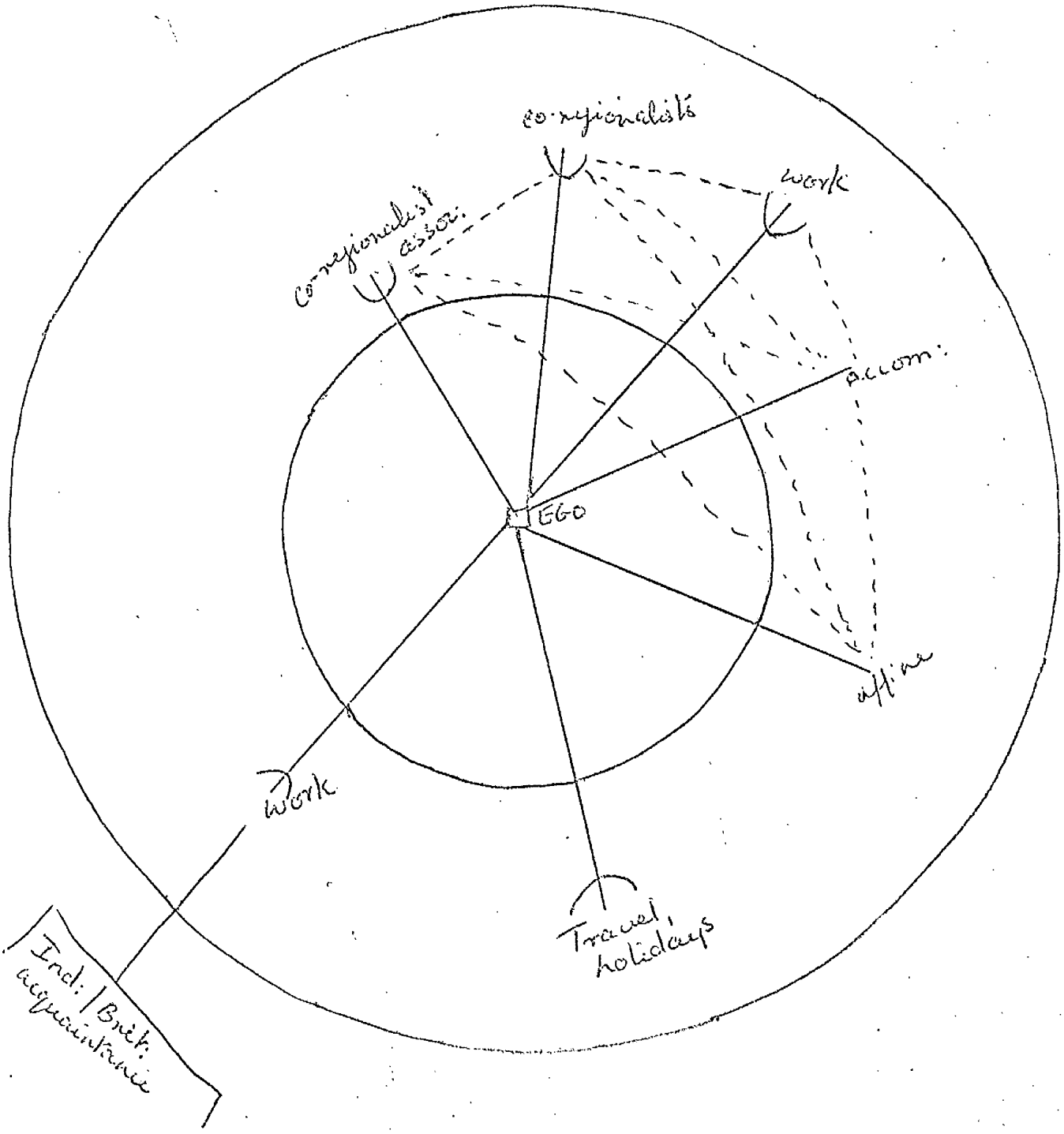
25


Indian / British acquaintance
work
accom.
co-religionalists
kin
EGO
holidays etc.
College
College
accom.
Indian / British acquaintance

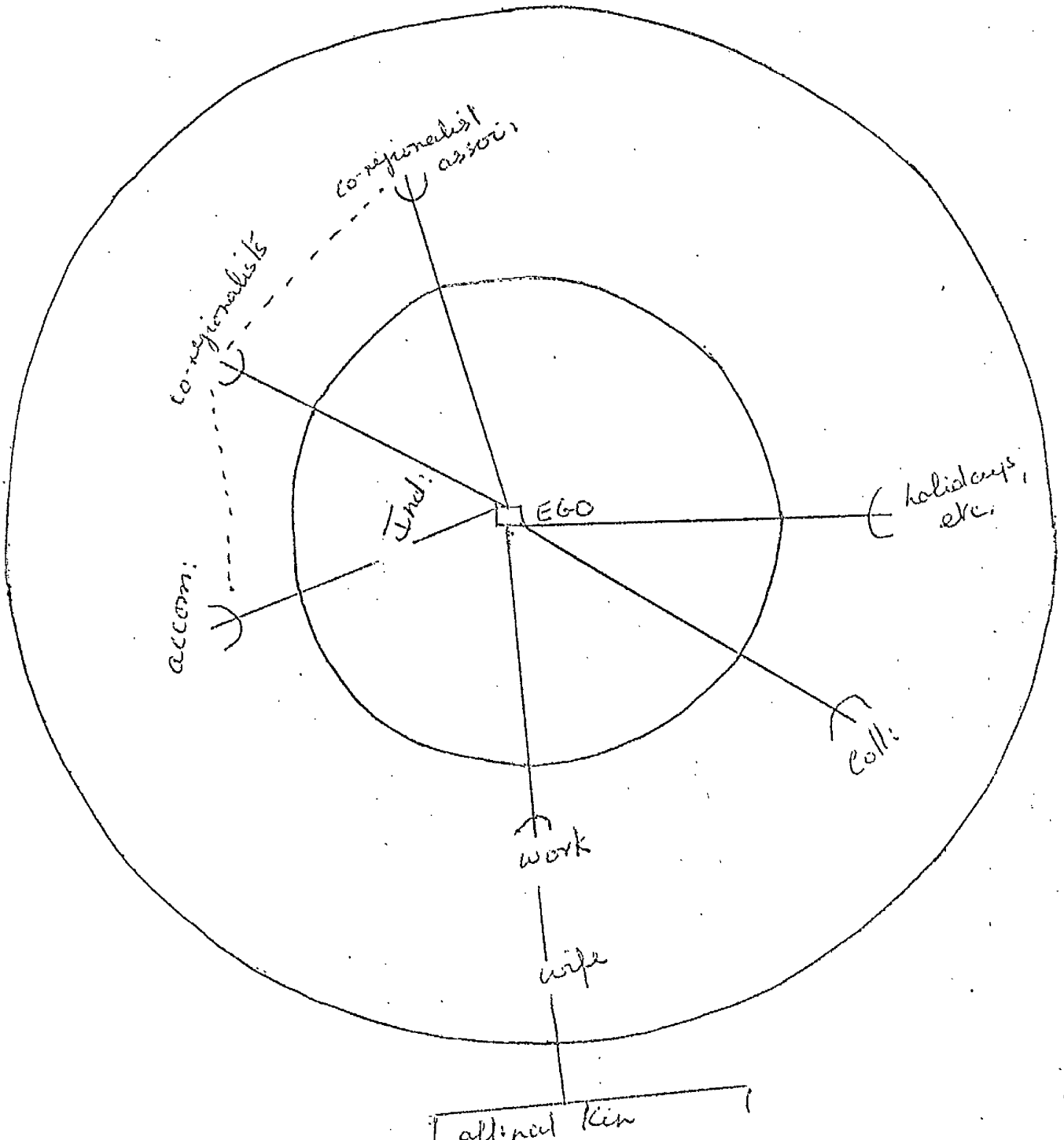
26


EGO
co-regional/ assoc:
co-region. dists
relig: assoc:
acom:
Coll:
Ind: / Distt: acquaintances

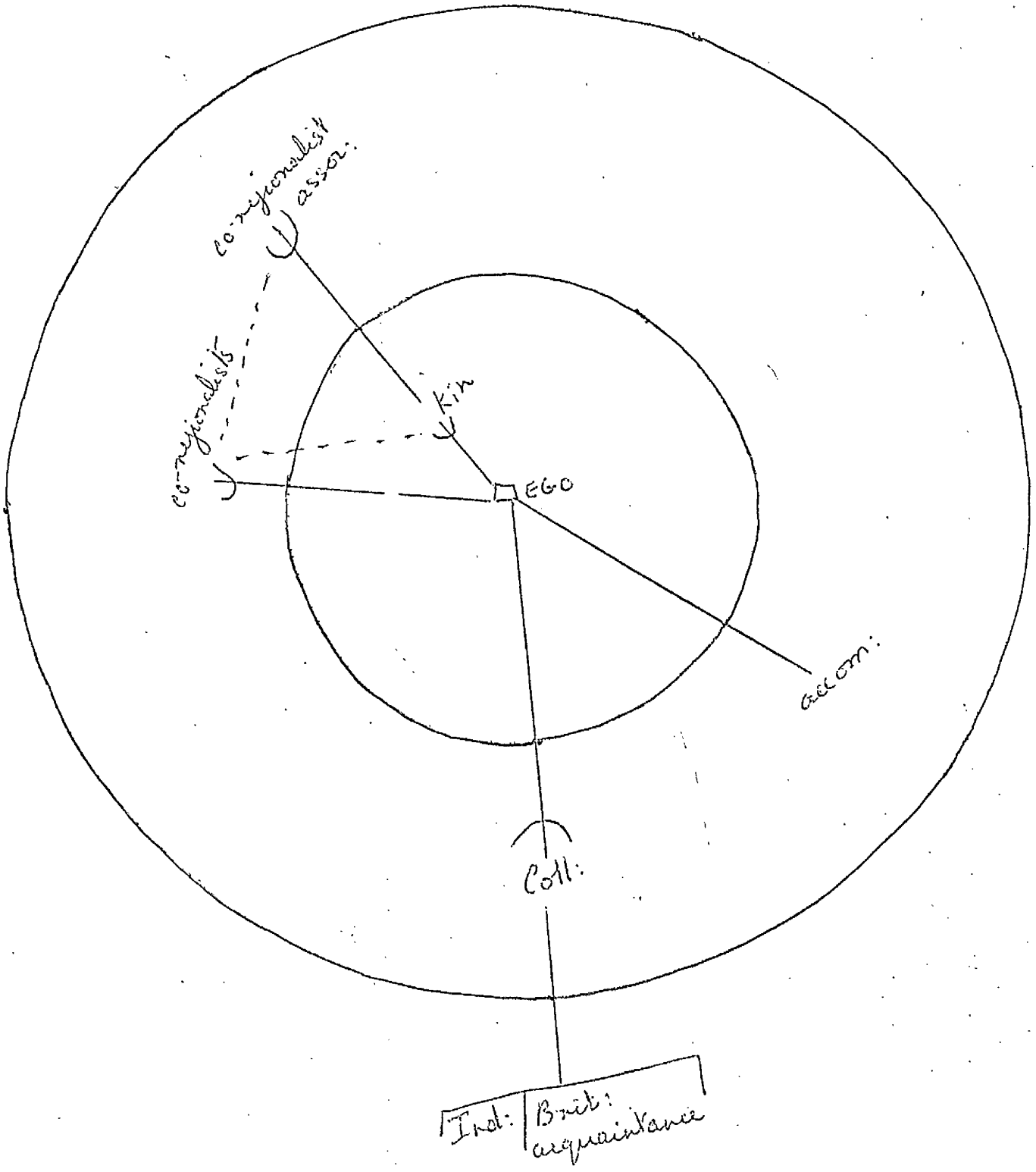
27


co-regionalists
work
co-regionalist assoc.
accom.
EGO
affinity
Work
Travel, holidays
Ind: / Brit. acquaintance

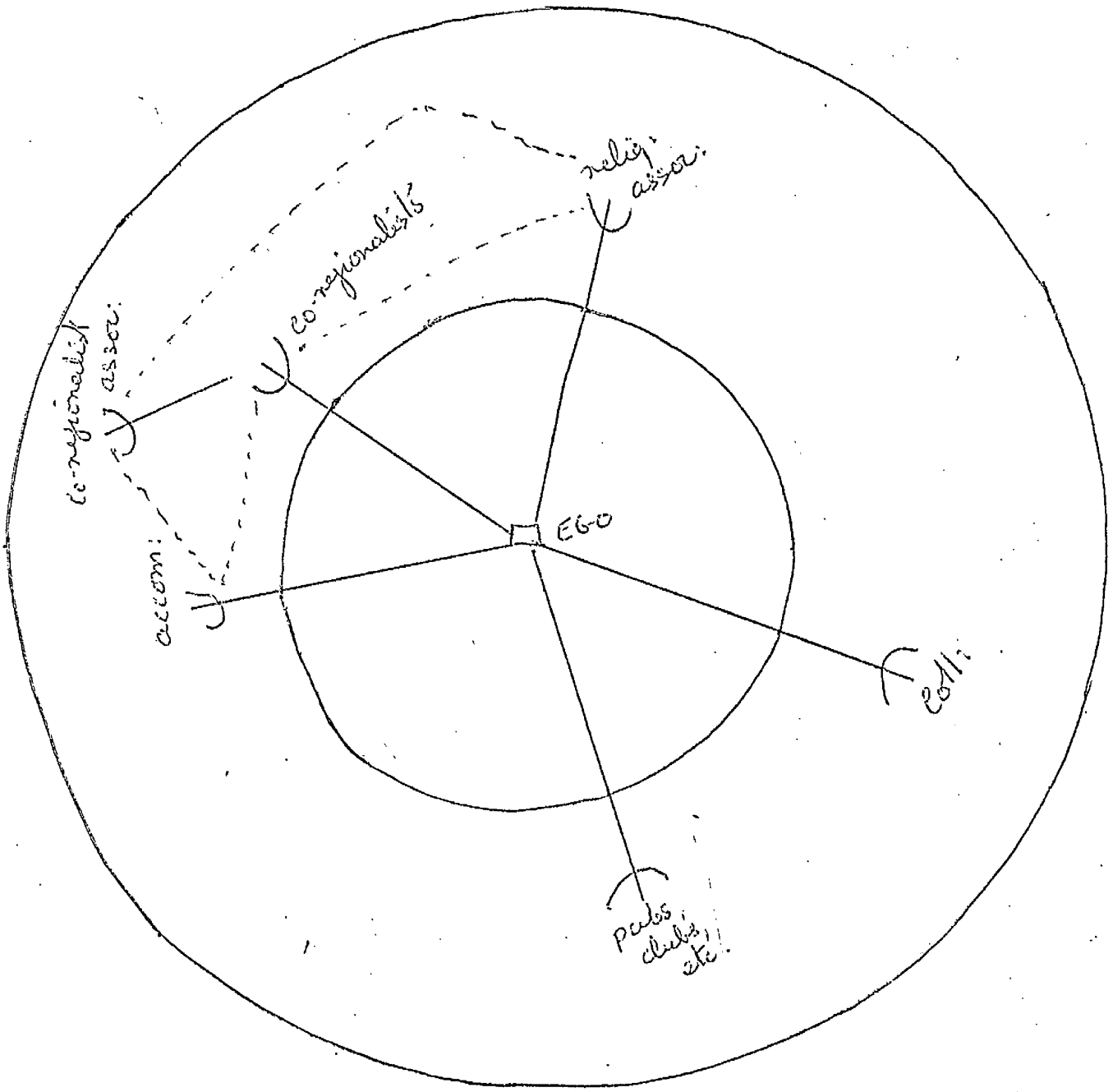
28


co-religionalist assoc.
co-regionalists
ind.
EGO
holidays, etc.
accom.
colls.
work
wife
affinal kin

29


co-regionalist assoc:
co-regionalists
Kin
EGO
accom:
Coll:
Inst:
Brit: acquaintance

30


co-regionalist assoc.
co-regionalists
relig. assoc.
accom.
EGO
coll.
Pubs, clubs etc.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

AICH, Prodosh

1962. The Problems of Coloured Students in Germany. Information sur les Sciences Sociales. Vol.1. No.4. pp. 37-49. 3 Tables.

ALAVI, Hamza A.

1963. Pakistanis in London. IN: Immigrants in London: a study group report. Edited by Sheila Patterson, London. National Council of Social Service for London Council of Social Service. pp. 53-59.

ASSOCIATION OF COMMONWEALTH UNIVERSITIES

1949- Commonwealth Universities Yearbooks. London. Association of Commonwealth Universities.

AURORA, G. S.

1960. Indian Workers in England. Unpublished M.Sc. (Econ). Thesis, University of London.

BABCHUK, Nicholas and THOMPSON, Ralph V.

1962. The Voluntary Associations of Negroes. American Sociological Review. Vol.27. pp. 647-655. Table.

BAILEY, F. G.

1960. Tribe, Caste and Nation. Manchester. Manchester University Press. xii + 279 pp. 3 Maps. Illustrations. 6 Tables. References. Index.

1962. The Scope of Social Anthropology in the study of Indian Society. IN: Indian Anthropology. Edited by T. N. Madan and Gopāla Śaraṇa. London. Asia Publishing House. pp. 254-265. Notes. References.

1970. Strategems & Spoils. Oxford. Basil Blackwell. XIV + 240 pp. References.

BANTON, Michael

1953-54. Recent Migration from W. Africa and the W. Indies to the U.K. Population Studies, Vol. 7. pp. 2-13.

1955. The Coloured Quarter. London. Jonathan Cape. 253 pp.

1967. Race Relations. (Social Science Paperbacks 21) London. Associated Book Publishers Ltd. xiv + 434 pp. 2 Maps. 18 Figures. 4 Tables. References. Indices.

BARNES, J. A.

1954. Class and Committees in a Norwegian Island Parish. Human Relations. Vol.7. pp.39-58.

1969. Networks & Political Process. IN: Social Networks in Urban Situations. Edited by J. Clyde Mitchell. Manchester. Manchester University Press for the Institute for Social Research, University of Zambia. pp. 51-76. 7 Figures.

BENEDICT, Burton.

1954. Muslim and Buddhist Associations in London. Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, University of London.

1961. Indians in a Plural Society. (Colonial Office - Colonial Research Studies No.34). London. H.M.S.O. XII + 168 pp. Illustrations. Map. References. Index.

1957. Factions in Indian and Overseas Indian Societies.V. Factionalism in Mauritian Villages. British Journal of Sociology. Vol. 8. pp. 328-342.

1967. Caste in Mauritius. IN: Caste in Overseas Indian Communities. Edited by Barton M. Schwartz. San Francisco. Chandler Publishing Company. pp. 21-42. References.

BETTELHEIM, B. and JANOWITZ, M.

1949-50. Ethnic Tolerance. American Journal of Sociology. Vol. 55. pp. 137-145. Tables.

BHARATI, Agehananda

1965. A Social Survey. IN: Portrait of a Minority: Asians in East Africa. Edited by Dharam P. Ghai. Nairobi, London, New York. Oxford University Press. pp. 13-61.

1967. Ideology and Content of Caste among the Indians in East Africa. IN: Caste in Overseas Indian Communities. Edited by Barton M. Schwartz. San Francisco. Chandler Publishing Company. pp.283-320. References.

BHATIA, Prem.

24/3/62. 'Indian Students' Problems' (A Letter from Washington), The Times of India. p.6. Cols. 3-5.

BLAU, P. M.

1964. Exchange and Power in Social Life. New York, London, Sydney. John Wiley & Sons, Inc. xxiv + 352 pp. Indices.

BOSE, Nirmal Kumar

1964. Problems of national integration. Science and Culture. Vol.30. pp. 157-160.

BOTT, Elizabeth

1957. Family and Social Network, London. Tavistock Publications Limited. viii + 252 pp. Appendix. References.

BOTTOMORE, T. B.

1954. Social Stratification in Voluntary Organizations. IN: Social Mobility in Britain. Edited by D. V. Glass. London, Routledge and Kegan Paul. pp. 349-382. 10 Tables.

1962. Sociology, a Guide to Problems & Literature. London. George Allen & Unwin Ltd. 330 pp. Bibliography.

1964. Elites and Society. London. C. A. Watts & Co. Ltd. vi + 154 pp. Bibliography. Index.

BRADFORD COUNCIL OF SOCIAL SERVICE INC:

1963. The Immigrant in Bradford. Bradford. Bradford Council of Social Service Inc. 9 pp. 11 Tables.

BRAITHWAITE, L.

1954. Social Stratification in Trinidad: a Preliminary Analysis. Social and Economic Studies. Vol. 2. pp. 5-175.

BROWN, W. O.

1933. The Rationalization of Race Prejudice. International Journal of Ethics. Vol. 43. pp. 294-306.

CAMUS, Albert

1948. L'État de Siège. Paris. Gallimard. 234 pp.

CAREY, A. T.

1956. Colonial Students. London. Secker & Warburg. XII + 267 pp. Tables. Bibliography.

CHAPPLE, E. D. & COON, C. S.

1947. Principles of Anthropology. London. Jonathan Cape. xi + 718 pp. Map.Figures. Bibliography. Glossary. Index.

CLARKE, Colin

1967. Caste among Hindus in a Town in Trinidad: San Fernando. IN: Caste in Overseas Indian Communities. Edited by Barton M. Schwartz. San Francisco. Chandler Publishing Company. pp. 165-199. Tables. References.

COELHO, G. V.

1959. Changing Images of America: A Study of Indian Students' Perceptions. Bombay. Asia Publishing House. XVIII + 123 pp. 3 Figures. 12 Tables. 3 Appendices.

COHEN, Yehudi A.

1961. Patterns of Friendship. IN: Social Structure and Personality: A Casebook. New York, etc. Holt, Rinehart and Winston. pp. 351-386.

COLLINS, S.

1951. The social position of white and halfcaste women in coloured groupings in Britain. American Sociological Review. Vol. 16.pp.796-802.

1952. Social processes integrating coloured people in Britain. British Journal of Sociology. Vol. 3. pp. 20-29.

1957. Coloured Minorities in Britain. London. Lutterworth Press. 258 pp.

COLLISON, Peter

1969. Immigrants' Varieties of Experience. New Society. Vol.13. pp. 990-992. 3 Tables.

COLSON, E. F.

1953. The Makah Indians. Manchester. Manchester University Press. XVI + 308 pp.

CORMACK, Margaret

1961. She Who Rides a Peacock. Bombay. Asia Publishing House. xiii + 264 pp. Index. Appendix.

COSER, L. A.

1956. The Functions of Social Conflict. London. Routledge & Kegan Paul. 188 pp.

COX, O. C.

1948. Caste, Class & Race. New York. Doubleday. XXXVIII + 624 pp.

DAVIS, Kingsley

1949. Human Society. New York. Macmillan Co. XIV + 655 pp. Bibliography. Indices.

DAVISON, R. B.

1966. Black British: Immigrants to England. London. Oxford University Press for the Institute of Race Relations. XV + 170 pp. Tables.

DESAI, R. H.

1960. The Social Organisation of Indian Migrant Labour in the U.K. Unpublished M.A. Thesis, University of London.

1962. Some Aspects of Social Relations between the Indian Immigrants in the United Kingdom and the Host Society, with particular reference to economic activities. Ph.D. Thesis. University of London.

1963. Indian Immigrants in Britain. London. Oxford University Press for the Institute of Race Relations. 154 pp. Tables. Diagrams.

DOTSON, F.

1951. Patterns of Voluntary Association among Urban Working-class Families. American Sociological Review. Vol. 16. pp. 687-693.

DUMONT, Louis

1965. The Modern Conception of the Individual. Contributions to Indian Sociology. No. 8. pp. 13-61.

1965. The Functional Equivalents of the Individual in Caste Society. Contributions to Indian Sociology. No.8. pp.85-99.

EGGINTON, J.

1957. They Seek a Living. Hutchinson. London. 192 pp. Illustrations. Map. Bibliography.

EISENSTADT. S. N.

1956. Patterns of Leadership and Homogeneity in Israel. International Social Science Bulletin. Vol.8. pp. 36-54.

ELDER, Joseph W.

1964. Brahmans in an Industrial Setting: a Case Study IN: The Transfer of Institutions. Edited by William B. Hamilton. Durham, N.C. Duke University Press. London. Cambridge University Press for Duke University Commonwealth - Studies Center. pp. 139-164,

ELDRIDGE, J. E. T.

1960. Overseas Students at Leicester University: some problems of adjustment and communication. Race. Vol. 2. No.1. p. 50.

ELKHOLY, Abdo A.

1966. The Arab Moslems in the United States: Religion & Assimilation. New Haven. Conn. College and University Press. 176 pp. 60 Tables. Bibliography. Appendix. Index.

EPSTEIN, A. L.

1961. The Network and Urban Social Organisation. Rhodes-Livingstone Institute Journal. Vol. 29. pp. 29-62.

FATHI, Asghar.

1968. Marginality, Leadership and Directed Change. Human Organization. Vol. 27. pp. 143-146. References.

FIRTH, Raymond.

1956. Two Studies of Kinship in London. (London School of Economics, Monographson Social Anthropology No.15) London. Athlone Press. 93 pp.

1957. Factions in Indian and Overseas Indian Societies. 1. Introduction. British Journal of Sociology. Vol. 8. pp. 291-295.

FIRTH, Raymond, HUBERT, Jane and FORGE, Anthony.

1969. Families and Their Relatives: Kinship in a Middle-Class Sector of London. London. Routledge & Kegan Paul. XVI + 476 pp. Figures. Tables. Appendix. Index.

FRAZIER E. F.

1957. Race & Culture Contacts in the Modern World. New York. Alfred A. Knopf. X + 338 + xii pp. Indices.

GARIGUE, P.

1953. The West African Students' Union. Africa. Vol. 23. pp. 55-69.

GEERTZ, Clifford.

1963. The integrative revolution: primordial sentiments and civil politics in the new states. IN: Old Societies & New States. New York. Free Press of Glencoe. pp. 105-157.

GERTH, H. H. and MILLS, C. W.

1961. Character and Social Structure.London. Routledge and Kegan Paul. XXV + 490 pp.

GHURYE, G. S.

1968. Social Tensions in India. Bombay. Popular Prakashan. XII + 552 pp. Tables. Index.

GINSBERG, M.

1935. Association. IN: Encyclopaedia of Social Sciences. Vol.II. pp. 284-286.

GLASS, R.

1960. The Newcomers. (Centre for Urban Studies, Report No.1) London. Allen and Unwin Ltd. XIII + 278 pp.

GLUCKMAN, Max.

1961. Ethnographic Data in British Social Anthropology. Sociological Review. Vol. 9. pp. 5-17. References.

GORE, M. S.

1968. Some problems of Educated Youth in India. IN: India: Studies in Social & Political Development, 1947-1967. Edited by A. Appadorai. London. Asia Publishing House. pp. 74-86.

GOVERNMENT OF INDIA

1961. Census of India.

Vol. I. India. Part II - C (i).

Vol. X. Maharashtra. Part II - A.

GRAEBER, I.

1953. Examination of Theories of Race Prejudice. Social Research. Vol. 20. No.3. pp. 267-281.

GREGOR, A. James

1960-61. On the Nature of Prejudice, Eugenics Review. Vol. 52. pp. 217-224. References.

GRIFFITH, J. A. G., HENDERSON, Judith, USBORNE, Margaret, WOOD, Donald and LONG, Herman H.

1960. Coloured Immigrants in Britain. London. Oxford University Press for the Institute of Race Relations. 225 pp. Map. Tables. Bibliography. Appendix.

GRIMSHAW, Allen D.

1960. Urban Racial Violence in the United States. American Journal of Sociology. Vol. 66. pp. 109-119.

1962. Factors Contributing to Colour Violence in the United States and Britain. Race. Vol. 3. No. 2. pp. 3-19.

GULLAHORN, J. T. & GULLAHORN, J. E.

1963. An Extension of the U-curve Hypothesis. Journal of Social Issues. Vol. 19. No. 3. pp. 33-47.

GULLIVER, P. H.

1966. Dispute Settlement without Courts : the Ndendeuli of Southern Tanzania. Paper prepared for the Burg Wartenstein Symposium. No. 34. Wenner-Gren Foundation for Anthropological Research. 47 pp. Figures.

HALL, J. & JONES, D. Caradog

1950. Social Grading of Occupations. British Journal of Sociology. Vol. 1. pp. 31-55. Tables.

HANIOTIS, George V.

1964. An Exercise in Voluntary Repatriation. International Development Review. Vol. 6. No. 4. pp. 21-22.

HARRISON, S. S.

1960. India: the most dangerous decades. Princeton, New Jersey. Princeton University Press/London. Oxford University Press X + 350 pp. Index.

HENDERSON, Gregory

1964. Foreign Students : Exchange or Immigration. International Development Review. Vol. 6. No. 4. pp. 19-21.

HERSKOVITS, Melville J.

1958. Acculturation : the study of culture contact. Gloucester, Mass. Peter Smith. 155 pp. Appendix. References. Index.

HEVI, E. J.

1963. An African Student in China. London. Pall Mall. 220 pp.

HOETINK, H.

1963. Change in Prejudice. Bijdragen tot de Taal,- Land - en Volkenkunde. Vol. 119. No. 1. pp. 56-75.

HOMANS, G. C.

1951. The Human Group. London. Routledge & Kegan Paul. XXIII + 484 pp.

HUXLEY, Elspeth

1964. Back Street New Worlds. London.Chatto & Windus in association with Punch. 168 pp. Bibliography. Appendices.

JACOBSON, H. E.

1963. Concepts of Kinship in the Study of Urban Western Society. Unpublished M. A. Thesis, University of London.

JAHODA, G.

1961. White Man. London. Oxford University Press for the Institute of Race Relations. VIII + 144 pp. Figures. Select Bibliography. 2 Appendices.

JOHN, Dewitt

1969. Indian Workers' Associations in Britain. London. Oxford University Press, for the Institute of Race Relations. XII + 194 pp. 3 Maps. 15 Tables. 3 Figures. Bibliography. Index.

JUNOD, Violaine

1952. Report on a Study of the Coloured Social Elite in London. Unpublished MS.

KARAKA, D. F.

1933. The Pulse of Oxford. London. J. M. Dent & Sons Ltd. xiv + 80 pp.

1943. I Go West. Bombay. Thacker & Co. Ltd. 295 pp.

KARVE, D. D.

1963. The Universities and the Public in India. Minerva. Vol. 1. pp. 263-284.

KATZ, D. & BRADY, K.

1933-4. Racial Stereotypes of 100 College Students. Journal of Abnormal & Social Psychology. Vol. xxviii. pp. 280-290. Tables.

KHOSHKISH, A.

1966-67. Intellectual Migration : A Sociological Approach to "Brain Drain". Journal of World History. Vol. 10. pp. 178-197.

KLASS, Morton

1961. East Indians in Trinidad. New York and London. Columbia University Press. VII + 265 pp. Illustrations. Map. Tables. Bibliography. Index.

KLINEBERG, O.

1935. Race Differences. New York and London. Harper & Bros. IX + 367 pp.

KOTHURKAR, V. K.

1954. Some Provincial Stereotypes : an essay in social perception and thinking. Journal of the University of Poona (Humanities). April. pp. 103-110.

KUPER, Hilda

1960. Indian People in Natal. Natal,University Press. XIV + 296 pp. Illustrations. Tables. Bibliography. Appendix.

1967. Changes in Caste of the South African Indian. IN: Caste in Overseas Indian Communities. Edited by Barton M. Schwartz. San Francisco. Chandler Publishing Company. pp. 237-265. Diagram. References.

KUPER, Hilda and KAPLAN, Selma.

1944. Voluntary Associations in an Urban Township. African Studies Vol.3. pp. 178-186. Table.

LAMBERT, Richard D. and BRESSLER, Marvin.

1956. Indian Students on an American Campus. Minneapolis. University of Minnesota Press. xii + 122 pp. Appendix. Index.

LANDES, Ruth

1952. A Preliminary Statement of a Survey of Negro-White Relationships in Britain. Man. Vol. 52. No.184.

LEWIS, R. & MAUDE, A. E. U.

1952. Professional People. London. Phoenex House Ltd. VII + 284 pp.

LIPSET, S. M.

1964-65. University Students and Politics in Underdeveloped Countries. Minerva. Vol. 3. pp. 15-56.

LITTLE, K. L.

1942. Loudoun Square : a Community Survey. Sociological Review. Vol. 34. pp. 12-33; 119-146. 2 Figures. Map.

LITTLE, K. L.

1943. The Psychological Background of White-coloured contacts in Britain. Sociological Review. 1943. Vol. 35. pp.12-28.

1948. Negroes in Britain. London. Kegan Paul, French, Trubner & Co. XIII + 292 pp.

LOOMIS, Charles P. and LOOMIS Zona K.

1969. Socio-economic change and the Religious Factor in India : an Indian Symposium of Views on Max Weber. New Delhi. Affiliated East-West Press Pvt. Ltd/ New York and London. Van Nostrand Reinhold Company. XX + 140 pp. Figure. Indices.

LOPASHICH, A.

1958. A Negro Community in Yugoslavia. Man. Vol. 58. No. 231.

LOPATA, Helena Znaniecki.

1964. The Function of Voluntary Associations in an Ethnic Community : "Polonia". IN : Contributions to Urban Sociology. Edited by E. W. Burgess and D. J. Bogue. Chicago and London. University of Chicago Press. pp. 203-223.

LOWIE, R. H.

1950. Social Organisation. London. Routledge & Kegan Paul. 465 pp. Bibliography. Indices.

LYSGAARD, Sverre

1955. Adjustment in a Foreign Society : Norwegian Fulbright Grantees visiting the United States. International Social Science Bulletin. Vol. 7. pp. 45-51.

MACIVER, R. M.

1924. Community. (Third edition). London. Macmillan & Co. XVII + 446 pp.

MACIVER, R. M. and PAGE, Charles H.

1961. Society : An Introductory Analysis. London. Macmillan & Co. Ltd. XX + 697 pp. Figures. Indices.

MADDOX, H.

1960. The Assimilation of Negroes in a Dockland Area in Britain. Sociological Review. Vol. 8. pp. 5-15. Table. References.

MAIR, L. P.

1963. New Nations. London. Weidenfeld & Nicholson. 235 pp. Bibliography. Index.

MANSUR, Fatma

1962. Process of Independence. London. Routledge & Kegan Paul. xvi + 192 pp. Index. Notes.

MAYER, A. C.

1957. Factions in Fiji Indian Rural Settlements. British Journal of Sociology. Vol. 8. pp. 317-328.

1959. A Report on the East Indian Community in Vancouver. Working Paper. Institute of Social & Economic Research, University of British Columbia.

1961. Peasants in the Pacific. London. Routledge & Kegan Paul. viii + 202 pp. Illustrations. Maps. 2 Tables. Glossary.

1962. System and Network: an approach to the study of political process in Dewas. IN: Indian Anthropology. Edited by T. N. Madan and Gopāla Śarana. London. Asia Publishing House. pp. 266-278.

1963. Indians in Fiji. London. Oxford University Press for the Institute of Race Relations. 142 pp. Bibliography.

1966. The Significance of Quasi-Groups in the study of Complex Societies. IN: The Social Anthropology of Complex Societies. Edited by Michael Banton. London, Tavistock Publications. pp. 97-122. 2 Tables. Figure. Notes. Bibliography.

1967. Introduction IN: Caste in Overseas Indian Communities. Edited by Barton M. Schwartz. San Francisco. Chandler Publishing Company. pp. 1-19. References.

MAYER, Philip

1964. Labour Migrancy and the Social Network. IN: Problems of Transition: Proceedings of the Social Sciences Research Conference, 1962. Edited by J. F. Holleman, Joan Knox, J. W. Mann and K. A. Heard. Pietermaritzberg. Natal University Press for the Institute for Social Research, University of Natal. pp. 21-51.

1965. Migrancy and the Study of Africans in Towns. IN: Africa : Social Problems of Change and Conflict. Edited by Pierre L. van den Berghe. San Francisco. Chandler Publishing Company. pp. 305-324.

MAYO, Katherine

1927. Mother India. London. Jonathan Cape. 391 pp.

MESS, H. A.

1940. Social Groups in Modern England. (Discussion Books No. 73). London. Nelson & Sons. 168 pp.

MILLER, Beatrice Diamond.

1969. Revitalization Movements: Theory and Practice, as evidenced among the Buddhists of Maharashtra. IN: Anthropology & Archaeology: Essays in Commemoration of Verrier Elwin, 1902-64. Edited by M. C. Pradhan, R. D. Singh, P. K. Misra and D. B. Sastry. Bombay. Oxford University Press. Indian Branch. pp. 108-126.

MISHNUN, Florence

1935. Voluntary Associations. IN: Encyclopaedia of the Social Sciences. Vol. 15. pp. 283-287.

MITCHELL, J. Clyde.

1969. Social Networks in Urban Situations : Analyses of Personal Relationships in Central African Towns. Manchester. Manchester University Press for the Institute for Social Research, University of Zambia. X + 378 pp. Figures. Tables. Bibliography. Indices.

MOGEY, J. M.

1956. Family and Neighbourhood : Two Studies in Oxford. London. Oxford University Press.XVI + 181 pp. Illustrations. Diagrams. Tables.

MORRIS, H. S.

1956. Indians in East Africa; A Study in a Plural Society. British Journal of Sociology. Vol. 7. pp. 194-211.

1957. Communal Rivalry among Indians in Uganda. British Journal of Sociology. Vol. 8. pp. 306-317.

1959. The Indian Family in Uganda. American Anthropologist. Vol. 61. pp. 779-89. Tables. References.

1967. Caste among the Indians of Uganda. IN: Caste in Overseas Indian Communities. Edited by Barton M. Schwartz. San Francisco. Chandler Publishing Company. pp. 267-282. References.

MUKHOPADHYAY, Prabhat K. & BANERJEE, J.

1961-62. Psycho-Social Survey of the Process of Cohesion of the Students of Under-Graduate and Post-Graduate Levels. Indian Journal o Social Work. Vol. 22. No.2. pp. 89-95.

MUNSHI, K. M.

1963. As I look back - "The Changing Social Patterns". Journal of the Gujarat Research Society. Vol. 25. pp. 278-284.

MURARKA, Dev.

1961. Indian Emigration Overseas. Eastern World. Vol. 15. No.3. pp. 14-16; No.4. p.20. Table.

NADEL, S. F.

1957. The Theory of Social Structure. London. Cohen & West Ltd. XVI + 159 pp.

NAIPAUL, V. S.

1964. An Area of Darkness. London. Andre Deutsch. 282 pp. Illustrati

NAWATHÉ, M. S.

1971. Sociological Study of Maharashtrians in London. Unpublished dissertation, Department of Teaching Studies, Northwestern Polytechn London.

NDEM, Eyo B.

1957. The Status of Coloured People in Britain. Phylon. Vol. 18. pp. 82-87.

NIEHOFF, Arthur.

1967. The Function of Caste among the Indians of the Oropuche Lagoon, Trinidad. IN: Caste in Overseas Indian Communities. Edited by Barton M. Schwartz. San Francisco. Chandler Publishing Company. pp. 149-163. References.

ODYSSEUS.

1961 India's Contribution to Britain's Health. Eastern Economist. Vol. 37. pp. 1073-1074.

OGBURN, W. F. and NIMKOFF, M. F.

1950. Sociology. Boston. Houghton Mifflin Co. XII + 606 pp. Illustrations. Maps. Figures. Index.

OLMSTED, Michael S.

1959. The Small Group. (Studies in Sociology, SS 16). New York. Random House. 159 pp. Figures. Bibliography. Notes.

PAINE, Robert.

1969. In Search of friendship : an exploratory analysis in "middle-class" culture. Man: the Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute. Vol. 4. pp. 505-524.

PARK, R. E.

1955. Society: collective behavior, news and opinion, sociology and modern society. (Collected Papers of Robert Ezra Park, 3). Glencoe, Illinois. Free Press. 358 pp.

PARK, R. E. and MILLER, H.A.

1921. Old World Traits Transplanted. New York and London. Harper & Bros. 308 pp. Maps. Diagram.

PARKIN, David J.

1968. Medicines and Men of Influence. Man: the Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute. Vol. 3. pp.424-439.

PARRY, Geraint

1969. Political Elites. London. George Allen & Unwin Ltd. 169 pp. Bibliography. Index.

PATTERSON, Sheila.

1963. Dark Strangers. London. Tavistock Publications. xvi + 470 pp. Maps. Tables. Appendices. References. Index.

PEACH, Ceri

1968. West Indian Migration to Britain: a social geography. London. Oxford University Press for the Institute of Race Relations. XVII + 122 pp. Maps. Index.

PEAR T. H.

1955. English Social Differences. London. Allen & Unwin Ltd. 318 pp. Bibliography.

P. E. P.

1955. Colonial Students in Britain. London. Political and Economic Planning. X + 257 pp. Tables. Bibliography. Appendices. Index.

1961. Indian University Students in Britain. (Based on a survey by A. K. Singh). Planning. Vol. 27. No.456. pp. 283-313. Tables.

1965. New Commonwealth Students in Britain. London. George Allen & Unwin Ltd. 253 pp. Tables. Select Bibliography. Appendices. Index.

PFEFFER, K. H. et al.

1961. Foreign Training for Pakistanis (a study of Pakistanis returned from training in Germany). Lahore. Social Sciences Research Centre, University of the Panjab. 64 pp. Tables.

POCOCK, David.

1957. The Bases of faction in Gujerat. British Journal of Sociology. Vol. 8. pp. 295-306. 2 Figures.

PONS, V. G.

1961. Two Small Groups in Avenue 21 : some aspects of the system of social relations in a remote corner of Stanleyville, Belgian Congo. IN: Social Change in Modern Africa. Edited by Aidan Southall. London. Oxford University Press for International African Institute. pp.205-216.

RADCLIFFE-BROWN, A. R.

1940. On Social Structure. Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute. Vol. 70. pp. 1-12.

RAMBIRITCH, Birbal and VAN DEN BERGHE, Pierre L.

1961. Caste in a Natal Hindu Community. African Studies. Vol. 20. pp.217-224. 4 Tables.

REX, John and MOORE, Robert.

1967. Race,Community, and Conflict : A Study of Sparkbrook. Foreword by E. J. B. Rose. London, New York. Oxford University Press for Institute of Race Relations. XVI + 304 pp. Illustrations. Maps. 61 Tables. Appendix. Index.

RICHMOND, A. H.

1950. Economic Insecurity and Stereotypes as Factors in Colour Prejudice. Sociological Review. Vol. 42. pp. 147-170. 2 Appendices.

1954. Colour Prejudice in Britain : a Study of West Indian Workers in Liverpool, 1941-1951. London. Routledge & Kegan Paul. XI + 184 pp.

ROBB, J. H.

1954. Working-Class Anti-Semite. Tavistock Publications. London. XIV + 239 pp.

ROSE, E. J. B. et al.

1969. Colour & Citizenship. London. Oxford University Press for Institute of Race Relations. XXIV + 815 pp. Graphs. Tables. Bibliography. Index.

ROWE, William L.

1964. Values, Ideology and Behavior of Emerging Indian Elites. Unpublished paper.

RUDOLPH, Lloyd I. and RUDOLPH, Susanne Hoeber

1967. The Modernity of Tradition. Chicago and London. University of Chicago Press. X + 306 pp. Appendix. Index.

SARMA, Jyotirmoyee

1969. Pūjā Associations in West Bengal. Journal of Asian Studies. Vol. 28. pp. 579-594.

SCHWARTZ, Barton M.

1967. The Failure of Caste in Trinidad. IN: Caste in Overseas Indian Communities. San Francisco. Chandler Publishing Company. pp.117-147. Tables. References.

1967. Caste and Endogamy in Fiji. IN: Caste in Overseas Indian Communities. San Francisco. Chandler Publishing Company. pp.213-235. Tables. References.

1967. Caste in Overseas Indian Communities. San Francisco. Chandler Publishing Company. XXIV + 350 pp. Illustrations. Tables. Glossary. Index.

SELLTIZ, Claire, CHRIST, June R. HAVEL, Joan and COOK, Stuart W.

1963. Attitudes and Social Relations of Foreign Students in the U.S. Minneapolis. University of Minnesota Press. V + 434 pp.

SHAH, B. V.

1961. Gujarati College Students and Caste. Sociological Bulletin. Vol. 10. No.1. pp. 41-60. 10 Tables.

1962. Gujarati College Students and Selection of Bride. Sociological Bulletin. Vol. 11. pp. 121-140. 10 Tables.

SHILS, Edward A.

1951. The Study of the Primary Group. IN: The Policy Sciences : Recent Developments in Scope and Method. Edited by D. Lerner and H. D. Lasswell. Stanford, California. Stanford University Press. pp. 44-69.

SHILS, E. A.

1961. The Intellectual between Tradition and Modernity : The Indian Situation. (Comparative Studies in Society & History, Supplement 1). The Hague. Mouton & Co. vi + 120 pp.

SIEGEL, Bernard J. and BEALS, Alan R.

1960. Conflict and Factionalist Dispute. Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute. Vol. 90. pp. 107-117.

SINGER, Phlip

1967. Caste and Identity in Guyana. IN: Caste in Overseas Indian Communities. Edited by Barton M. Schwartz. San Francisco. Chandler Publishing Company. pp. 93-116. References.

SINGH, Amar Kumar

1961. Indian Students in Britain; A Survey of their Adjustment and Attitudes. Ph.D. Thesis, London University.

1962. The Impact of Foreign Study: the Indian Experience. Minerva. Vol. 1. pp. 43-53.

1963. Indian Students in Britain : a survey of their adjustment and attitudes. New York. Asia Publishing House. XX + 208 pp. Graphs. Tables. Bibliography. Appendices. Index.

SKLARE, Marshall & VOSK, Marc.

1957. The Riverton Study: How Jews look at themselves and their neighbours. New York. American Jewish Committee. 48 pp. Tables.

SMITH, R. T. & JAYAWARDENA, C.

1958. Hindu Marriage Customs in British Guiana. Social & Economic Studies. Vol. 7. No.2. pp. 178-194.

1967. Caste and Social Status among the Indians of Guyana IN: Caste in Overseas Indian Communities. Edited by Barton M. Schwartz. San Francisco. Chandler Publishing Company. pp. 43-92. Tables. Appendix. References.

SOUTHALL, A. W.

1961. Introductory Summary: Small Groups and Social Networks. IN: Social Change in Modern Africa. Edited by Aidan Southall. London. Oxford University Press for International African Institute. pp.25-30.

1961. Kinship, friendship and the Network of Relations in Kisenyi, Kampala. IN: Social Change in Modern Africa. Edited by Aidan Southall. London. Oxford University Press for International African Institute. pp. 217-229.

SOVANI, N. V.

1963. Non-economic Aspects of India's Economic Development. IN: Administration & Economic Development in India. (Duke University Commonwealth-Studies Center Publication No.18). Edited by Ralph Braibanti and Joseph J. Spengler. Durham, N.C. Duke University Press, for the Duke University Commonwealth-Studies Center. pp. 260-280.

SPECKMANN, Johan D.

1967. The Caste System and the Hindustani Group in Surinam. IN: Caste in Overseas Indian Communities. Edited by Barton M. Schwartz. San Francisco. Chandler Publishing Company. pp. 201-212. Table . References.

SPROTT, W. J. H.

1958. Human Groups. Harmondsworth. Penguin Books Ltd. 219 pp.

STACEY, T. 1961. Smethwick's "Little Asia". Sunday Times. July 30th. p.19.

STONE, Jr. C. S.

African Students in India: Social Apartheid or Misunderstanding. Radical Humanist. Vol. 23. No. 46, (15th Nov. '59) pp. 543-544; No. 47 (22nd Nov. '59) pp. 551-552.

STONEQUIST, E. V.

1961. The Marginal Man. New York. Russell & Russell, Inc. xviii + 228 pp. Index.

TAJFEL, Henri and DAWSON, John L.

1965. Disappointed Guests : essays by African, Asian, and West Indian Students. London/New York. Oxford University Press for the Institute of Race Relations. VIII + 159 pp. References.

THOMPSON, Edgar T.

1961. Language and Race Relations. IN: Race Relations: Problems and Theory. Edited by Jitsuichi Masuoka & Preston Valien. Chapel Hill. University of North Carolina Press. pp. 228-251.

TILMAN, Robert O.

1963. The Influence of Caste on Indian Economic Development. IN: Administration & Economic Development in India. Edited by Ralph Braibanti and Joseph J. Spengler. (Duke University Commonwealth Studies Center Publication No.18). Durham, N. C. Duke University Press for the Duke University Commonwealth-Studies Center. pp. 202-223.

TINKER, Hugh

1967. India and Pakistan : a Political Analysis. (2nd Edition, revised and enlarged). London. Pall Mall Press. 248 pp. 2 Maps. Bibliography. Index.

TÖNNIES, F.

1955. Community and Association. Translated by C. P. Loomis. London. Routledge & Kegan Paul. XXXIV + 293 pp. Appendix. Index.

USEEM, J. and USEEM, R. H.

1955. The Western Educated Man in India. New York. Dryden Press. XVII + 237 pp.

VERBA, Sidney

1961. Small Groups and Political Behaviour : a Study of Leadership. Princeton, N. J. Princeton University Press xii + 273 pp. Bibliography. Index.

WARNER, W. Keith and MILLER, Sidney J.

1963-64. Organizational Problems in two types of Voluntary Associations. American Journal of Sociology. Vol. 69. pp.654-657. Table.

WEBER, Max

1962. Basic Concepts in Sociology. Translated by H. P. Secher. London. Peter Owen. 123 pp.

WEBSTER, Sheila

1954? Negroes in Bluebrick. Unpublished MS., Department of Social Anthropology, Edinburgh University.

WEINER, Myron.

1965. India: Two Political Cultures. IN : Political Culture and Political Development. Edited by L. W. Pye and S. Verba. Princeton. N. J. Princeton University Press. pp. 199-244.

WEINTRAUB, D. and BERNSTEIN, F.

1965-6. Social Structure and Modernization : a Comparative Study of Two Villages. American Journal of Sociology. Vol. 71. pp.509-521. 4 Tables.

WILSON, Monica

1964. The Coherence of Groups. IN: Problems of Transition: Proceedings of the Social Sciences Research Conference 1962. Edited by J. F. Holleman, Joan Knox, J. W. Mann and K. A. Heard. Pietermaritzburg. Natal University Press for the Institute for Social Research, University of Natal. pp. 1-20.

YOUNG, Kimball

1947. Personality & Problems of Adjustment. London. Kegan Paul. X + 868 pp. Bibliography. Appendix. Indices.

ADDENDA

ALTBACH, Philip G.
1968. Student Politics in Bombay. London. Asia Publishing House. xii + 218 pp. 2 Tables.

PANIKKAR, R.
1967. The European University Tradition and the Renascent World Cultures. IN: A Challenge to the European University. Edited by S.K. Oliver, Geneva. World Student Christian Federation. pp. 72-86.